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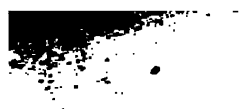
*The
Sandwich
Island*



OR

REVOLUTION IN 1907





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PRESENT SOCIAL SYSTEM IS
 REARED ABOVE A POWDER MAGAZINE



THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL

...OR...

Revolution in 1907.

Being a Revelation of Startling Facts Concerning the
Terrible Influences That Are at Work Destroying
the Nation, With the Sober Conclusions Drawn
From These Facts by An Ex-Congressman,
a Man Who Loves His Country and
His Fellow-Man, and Would Give
Warning of Perils That
Threaten the Very Life
of Our Republic.



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AUTHOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT.

So many predictions and prophecies have failed, that the first question asked will be, "Is this book a fraud or does the writer profess inspiration?" To which I promptly answer, neither.

I claim there will be a revolution in the year 1907, just as you might claim the sun will rise and set at that time. Divine powers of prophecy are not required in either case. Both claims may be established scientifically. If you play with fire in a powder magazine you can prophecy an explosion. A doctor examining a consumptive can tell without being inspired, what is in store for his patient. Were you to drift with the current above Niagara Falls, the consequences might easily be predicted.

I claim that the political, social and industrial signs of an impending revolution are plain and easily read; and having brought them before you, ask you to read, think and diagnose for yourself.

I see danger ahead. So do many, many others. I may not be heard, yet duty compels me to raise my voice in

protest. It may be too late, (and I am convinced such is the case), yet I could not refrain if I would. I dare not. I must put forth my strongest effort to be heard.

For that large number of earnest reformers toiling in the noblest work man can engage in, endeavoring in the face of adversity to uplift mankind, I predict failure in their attempt to prevent the revolution. I do not say their efforts are wasted or lost. Far from it. The good seed they sow today will take root and bring forth an abundant harvest. But not until after the revolution.

Just a word to those who at first might think I am an anarchist, working and wishing for the revolution.

Do you blame the watchman for sounding the alarm, or the man who cries "Fire!" when the warning notes are those of truth?

Should the engineer blame the flagman who signals that danger is ahead? Or should the physician be blamed when he pronounces a malady fatal? All of these are friends, not enemies. They have not caused the trouble. They raise their hands and voices to aid in finding a way of escape.

I see grave danger ahead. I cannot endure the indifference around me. I love my country and love its people. From the housetops I shall proclaim the truth. If there is any way to make people think before it is too late, I shall not leave a stone unturned in endeavoring to find it.

Some will be made to think. Some cannot. Some will be convinced by reason; others will only scoff. But with

the earnest hope that the majority will see and appreciate the peril to our government today, this book is sent forth.

To substantiate my position I present the opinions of noted jurists, lawyers and business men. I quote the deepest thinkers, the best writers, and some of the most widely-read magazines in the country. This vast array of testimony adds infinite weight to my prediction. Lest some might think this book is the idea of one man, the product of one mind, I say that I have done nothing but place the truth and facts side by side, and just as they exist today, so that none can fail to discern clearly the signs of the time. All that is asked, all that is invoked, is earnest thought and consideration of these the most serious and important questions of the day. If this end be attained, then is the aim of this book achieved, and the labor and hopes of the author amply rewarded.

J. C. COOPER.

CHAPTER I.

The Personal Experience of An Ex-Congressman.

The following is the remarkable experience of an ex-Congressman:

"I was born in Ohio fifty-five years ago. Though raised on a farm, I early went to Cincinnati and there engaged in the mercantile pursuit, which I followed continuously until the time when a trust drove me out of business.

"The firm I started with was an up-to-date house, very enterprising, and though exacting and precise, appreciative of merit.

"I stayed with them many years; until the death of the senior, and bad health of the junior members of the firm wound up the business.

"In a few days I received a letter from a firm in the same state offering me a position. I accepted, and was soon at work in their office. In five years I was offered an interest in the business. I had a little money, and borrowed some more. I thoroughly understood and liked the business, was deeply interested, and consequently found it

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a pleasure to work, and work very hard. Success waited upon me.

"Later my employer sold me a half interest, as he was growing old and wished to throw more responsibility upon me. In 1883 he wished to retire altogether and sold me the plant.

"This in brief is how I got started.

"Being only thirty-six years old and in fine health, I struck out with renewed vigor. I made many improvements, and augmented the business in many ways. My efforts were rewarded. Business prospered, and I soon had quite a sum in bank, besides considerable real estate. I had married happily and was blessed with two children. Altogether I believed fortune had come to abide with me.

"Had anyone told me that disaster would shortly overtake me, and financial disaster at that, I would have laughed at the suggestion. In no way could I see how such a thing might happen. Even were I to lose my entire business I still had my money and real estate. I thought prosperity was mine for the balance of my days. In fact, I was sure of it.

"But how little we know. I was supposed to be pretty well educated, but now I realized that there were many things for me to learn. I was rather narrow, because of concentration of mind and attention to business; yet I had no deep knowledge of the science or general trend of modern business. I had only a vague idea of the evolution of industry. The trust problem I thought of in-

differently, for as yet it loomed up on my horizon as a cloud no larger than a man's hand. Of social, industrial and political economy I knew nothing whatever; and to cap it all, I was unaware of my deficiencies; but felt conceited, sure, and set in my rather darkened ways.

"Reader, unconsciously you may be like I was--confident of the ground you stand upon, sure in your opinions and smilingly superior to any who may timidly suggest anything you have never heard of. Better investigate or perhaps your confidence will be rudely jarred. On the other hand, perhaps you have received your awakening; perhaps you no longer see through a glass darkly.

"My undoing was gradual. A trust began its tactics on me, which I hardly noticed at first. If it cut prices I did the same. I did not see then how it could hurt me. I do now. So do many others.

"The first telling blow came when freight rates took a jump upwards. They were more than trebled. I thought to raise my prices, when to my dismay I found the trust had lowered theirs. This was dumbfounding. I was sure they would lose money, and concluded to let them do so, while I kept up my prices. The result was that orders soon ceased to come in and I had to close up temporarily. Though under a big expense, I thought I could hold out longer than the trust who were selling at a cut rate.

"At first I was enraged and then worried. After a time they raised prices some, and I determined to take a bold stand. I met their prices and once more orders flowed in.

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"But I was losing money heavily. One day an agent of the trust called at my office. He said he was an attorney employed merely to come and see me. He was very unassuming and pleasant. He stated his mission. The trust would buy me out. I indignantly refused, saying I was an American citizen with well-defined rights and could not be driven from the field like that. He said the offer would remain open for forty-eight hours. If in that time I accepted I might drop him a line. As he picked up his hat to leave, he said if I were wise I would accept. It made no difference to him either way, only he had seen a number of men completely ruined by following the course I intended to pursue; that I was against a hopeless proposition, and would surely regret it if I failed to follow his advice.

"I told him that if I were losing money on account of the present freight rates, the trust was losing infinitely more, and that rates would probably be much cheaper before long. He looked at me a few moments and then said only this, 'I see that you really haven't the least idea what you are talking about.' He was right. I had never heard of the rebate system. But I anticipate.

"Of course I did not write him. But his remark and manner impressed me. I began to wonder if the trust really had any method of doing business that I might not avail myself of. I studied and worried, and worried and studied. After several months I thought perhaps it would be a good idea to write to some of my fellow competitors,

see how they were faring, offer to confer with them and ask what they thought would be the outcome; and finally find if they were aware of any methods or means possessed by the trusts which we lacked.

"I did so. In answer to my letters I received several replies. One man evidently did not wish to be frank. He said he did not care if the trusts were ten times as strong, they could not hurt him. This was a free country and he proposed to fight them back.

"The second writer admitted the trust had played sad havoc with him. He did not know what to do. He would be glad to hear from me again, and would himself write me very shortly.

"The third letter said the writer was going to Cincinnati in about a week and would be pleased to stop on the way to see me. I wrote and urged him to do so.

"In the meantime the trust had again reduced prices. Freight rates remained the same. For me to meet their prices meant greater losses still. I did not want to give in, neither did I want to lose everything. But I was so enraged I met the cut.

"The prices were now about the same as before the trouble began. I state this that the public may know that the trust was not a public benefactor. But with freight rates three times as high as formerly, it was a terribly losing game for me. I had written and gone to the railroad people in protest so often that I was tired. Furthermore, it did no good. The officials gave no reason why

the advance should be made. They merely had instructions from their superiors. Meanwhile I was losing money heavily.

"My fellow victim and competitor dropped in to see me one morning as he was bound for Cincinnati. I greeted him warmly and took him to my private office. One of my first questions was this: 'How can the trust cut prices when freight rates are so high? And how long can they keep on losing money this way?'

"'Losing money!' he exclaimed; 'Is it possible you believe the trust is losing money?' And he looked at me a few moments.

"'Why, they are coining money. They are getting rich,' he said. 'Don't you know that the trust owns and controls the railroads?' was his next question; 'and all the money paid for freight charges is given back to the trust monthly?'

"He said, 'I thought everybody knew that. It is called "the rebate system." You are a hundred years behind the times. Have you never heard how the rebate system is worked?'

"I frankly confessed I hadn't. I was dismayed and sickened. Cold drops of perspiration started from my forehead. Here I had thought the trust was paying the same freight rates (which in my business was a most important item) that I was; when lo, and behold; they were only paying one-third the amount; perhaps even less. I

had thought they were losing money as fast as myself, when in fact they were coining it.

"Reader, perhaps this is not new to you. If so, I trust it did not cost you as much to find it out as it did me. If you have not heard of it before, I'm glad to tell you about it. It is one of the strongholds of the trusts. The railroads raise freight enormously at the instigation of the trusts and then give it back to the trusts in rebates; all because the trusts and railroads are owned and controlled by the same capitalists.

"I went to law. I brought suit against both the railroads and the trust.

"Before long another agent of the trust came to see me and offered to buy me out again. This offer was about half of the first. I refused again.

"I lost both suits and appealed to a higher court. It would be tiresome to tell how the cases were continued and postponed and maneuvered in every way imaginable to bring delay and expense. This was kept up a long time. My lawyers' fees were very high. To make a long story short, I was finally and completely beaten at every point.

"In 1894 I was ruined. All my money and real estate were gone, and I gave up the fight. I felt I could do no more.

"But I took up the battle again in another and indirect way. From the beginning my case had attracted considerable attention. The newspapers had taken it up

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and discussed it. Public sympathy and favor were mine, and I received many letters of well wishes, encouragement and condolence. In 1894 some friends asked me to run for Congress. I at first declined, saying I was no statesman or lawyer, only a plain business man, but they insisted I was also an enemy of trusts, and just the man they were looking for.

"My whole attitude changed. Here was my chance. I might go to Congress and raise my voice in protest against the cut-throat policy of the trusts. For though it was too late for me to secure justice, I might prevent injustice being done to other intended victims. I accepted, had many friends assist me during the campaign, and finally won the election.

"My experience in Congress opened my eyes and started the investigation which I have kept up to this day. I learned rapidly because my heart was in it and because things that once appeared dull and uninteresting, I saw were of vital importance. Books and lectures that once failed to attract my attention I found fraught with ideas and revelations that every man and woman in America should try to understand and possess.

"But this will never be done. The 70,000,000 people of America, though conscious that strange things are happening and that they ought to be bestirring themselves, yet fail to think, agree, act or vote harmoniously for their own good. They always seem to be divided. And 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.'"

CHAPTER II.

TRUSTS.

Their Origin; Their History of Corruption and Oppression, and Their Diabolical Purposes Exposed.

“After being elected to Congress, I lost no time, but immediately began to study the trust question; there was no other question to me but that. I read, investigated and studied, and in every way sought to post myself on the subject.

“When the session opened I was on hand. The incidental sights and experiences through which I passed were many. But aside from those which relate to the main subject I will say nothing, though to me they were interesting and exciting enough.

“In spite of my previous experiences and investigation, my real study was to commence now. I soon saw and learned much about the inside workings of these institutions; things that a busy public never dreams of. And I wish to give the people the benefit of my discoveries. But that none may say I am narrow and give only my own views, I propose to corroborate all I say by public and legal records, reports of commissions, magazines and

newspapers, together with the opinions of leading statesmen, lawyers, business men, etc., etc.

"Before touching on the wrongs and abuses of trusts, a brief history and analysis of them is necessary.

"The close of the Civil War found the country taking on great industrial and commercial activity. Wonderful business opportunities presented themselves, as the demand for goods and labor was unlimited, owing to the horrible waste of war.

"At this time the first large and successful trust was projected, namely, the Standard Oil Trust, the forerunner of many more, rich and powerful, which were to follow in its footsteps. With almost universal success, these trusts have sprung up, flourished and grown to such enormous proportions that our entire industrial system has been changed.

"The trust is a perfect organization, with a perfect system, that operates with the least friction and expense, because it makes use of a fundamental economic law. That law is as follows: The larger the scale of production and distribution the less the friction and cost.

"This single economic advantage is perhaps the only thing that gives them the least claim to life. Were it not for this it is possible they would have been wiped out of existence long before this. Their numerous wrongs and gross injustice would have more than warranted it.

"Volumes might be written in regard to their method of procedure, showing that almost every crime in the

category has been committed by them to further their ends. A very great deal might be added about the policy of monopolizing any given industry, by absorbing and killing all competition, and ruining thousands of business men, (which is not considered a crime), besides throwing many thousands of people out of work. But in this short story it can only be touched on here and there.

"With the coming of the trusts the day of small enterprises is passing. Grand and elaborate schemes prevail. Stalking abroad over the land, hand in hand, we find the trusts and big schemes; both the cause and effect of each other; and together the enemy of the people, doing the bidding of a few, a privileged class—the plutocracy.

"Later we find the trusts combining until the prospect seems that in the near future forty or fifty trusts will control and practically own the country. Can any one deny that this is the tendency?

"Everybody knows of the great wealth and power of the Steel Trust. Their charter permits them to own and operate mines, furnaces and rolling mills, different lines of land and water transportation, and all kinds of shops and factories where the finished product is manufactured. Their charter grants them the privilege of buying and selling land, mines, stone, coal, iron and all kinds of mineral, as well as the forests that grow on the land; to manufacture wood, stone, steel and absolutely anything that may be manufactured. They have absolutely the

right to buy, sell or manufacture anything they wish, even the railroads, ships, barges, etc.

"What will be the result of such vast power? What will become of the poor competitor obliged to use their ships, railroads and barges?

"Mr. Schwab, the President of the Steel Trust, upon returning from abroad said: 'I come back with my enthusiasm unbounded; we are now, more than ever, ready to demonstrate that the greater the scope of the combination, the greater the possibilities for economy, and consequently the greater the possibilities for the reduction of cost. With these objects in view, we must have our great plants equipped and manned to perfection, and no care or proper expense must be spared to keep these plants modern and at the highest point that skill and enterprise can reach.'

"It is true that the Steel Trust as a perfect system of production and distribution is far ahead of anything ever attempted, but it is untrue when Mr. Schwab says it is to be operated for the public good.

"They are organized only for their own selfish ends, and even to rob and defraud the people. To do this they stop at nothing. All sorts of evils have been perpetrated by them; but more about this later. That the trusts might be made a blessing, and used for the public good is very possible. That they are doing it now every one knows to be false; and all the efforts of the Schwabs and Trust Barons fail to convince an aroused public.

"Aside from the Steel Trust, there are many others that branch out in their avarice into many avenues of trade and commerce.

"The Transportation Trust, just completed, threatens to grow until it takes in ocean and lake steamer lines, barge lines, railroads and express companies.

"Later will come the consolidation of the Oil, Coal and Gas Trusts.

"Sugar, Glucose and Coffee will soon combine, and so on through the entire list.

"One of the most formidable of these organizations is the Standard Oil Trust, which began operations when the oil business had started on a boom.

"As the oil just flowed from the wells, its production was very inexpensive, the main cost being in the transportation. The railroads soon saw their opportunity and organized the Standard Oil Trust. Of course all the roads interested in the company gave it precedence over all competitors. Before long the freight rates were raised enormously, and though the Standard Oil Co. paid the rates, it was given back to them in the form of rebates. The Standard Oil flourished, but their competitors were all ruined or driven from the field one by one. No one was spared in their selfish and cruel avarice; and thousands were reduced to poverty. But they willed to reign supreme in the oil business, and woe to any who dared oppose them.

"But there were a few sturdy spirits who fought them

to the bitter end. One was a Mr. Robt. Mathews of Buffalo, N. Y. Once the Standard Oil Trust attempted to blow up Mr. Mathews' refinery. Their plot miscarried, and several hundred workmen barely escaped with their lives. But at the trial, though the Standard Oil Trust was convicted of the crime, they were only fined \$300.00 for it. I afterwards met Mr. Mathews, who corroborated the whole thing. Besides, the court records are plain and open to everybody's inspection. (For a full and complete account of this incident and a complete history of the Standard Oil Trust, see Lloyd's Wealth Against Commonwealth.)

"Another dastardly piece of work by them took place at Fostoria, O., on a quiet Sunday in June, 1890, when they tore up the pipes of a competing gas company. Of course nothing could be done to stop them, for it being the Sabbath no injunction could be secured against them.

At Beaumont, Texas, the greatest oil field in the world, they are making the most strenuous efforts to tie up the oil wells by blocking transportation. The transportation facilities there already in existence are being bought and leased as fast as possible, and everything that money can do is being done to prevent the building of others.

"Some of the well owners have built tank cars of their own. But the railroads, upon getting hold of them, have switched, sidetracked and sent them away without returning them, (claiming the law permits it), and in every way throwing obstacles in the path of the new oil companies.

All, of course, at the instigation of the Standard Oil Trust.

"Some of the well owners went to law and demanded that cars be sent them. The law says that railroads must furnish cars and transportation to the public without partiality. Upon this the railroads did send some cars. One road sent furniture cars up to the oil wells instead of tank cars. The well owners were quick witted. Immediately they began to pump oil into the furniture cars. The railroad at once pulled the cars out again, upon which the well owners brought two damage suits, one for sending them cars that did not hold oil, and the other for pulling the cars away again.

"Thus the war is going on in Texas. At present not much is heard about it. Everybody has had the oil fever. How often we have heard it said, 'There's lots of oil, but no tank cars down there. It's not a question of oil; it's a question of transportation.' Don't you think it is no longer a question of oil or cars, but rather a question of the Standard Oil Trust? I do. I think it has become even a question of American Liberty, and that this prized institution is in danger unless the people are stirred from their apathy.

"Another great trust is one existing in St. Louis, known as the 'Transit Co.,' organized by combining all the street railways. It is capitalized at \$90,000,000, which formerly the state law of Missouri would not permit. But the State Legislature was bribed and the law changed. As the

State Legislature and Governor were both Democratic, and the latter signed the bill, it shows that both Democrats and Republicans alike yield to the corrupting influence of the trusts.

"They then bribed both the Council and House of Delegates in St. Louis to pass the measure for them, a full account of which is given in another chapter.

"After securing the passage of the bill, they had the city and public completely at their mercy, and subjected them to all manner of indignities. They refused to run enough cars, and night and morning packed and handled the passengers like so many cattle. In winter, over half the time the cars were not heated. They always ran them at a terrific rate of speed, and the number of people killed and injured was appalling.

"The public protested in vain. The papers scathingly denounced the wholesale murder, but to no effect. Every day added to the list, until it was impossible to pick up a paper without being shocked by these horrible accounts of school children, men and women being either maimed or killed by these modern engines of death. I quote from one of the daily papers, (the request of a citizen), to further illustrate the point:

ACCIDENTS THAT HORRIFY.

To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch:

Your paper is well known as a wide-awake and progressive journal and generally leads in all that is new and interesting to the public. I would therefore suggest that

you have a standing column daily—headed, say, “Transit Co.’s Casualties”—under which will be recorded the daily accidents occurring on the various trolley lines. Many of them are so harrowing that sensitive readers, when they accidentally come across them and commence their perusal turn from them with horror. If all were grouped together the heading would be an index for their non-perusal. What say you? They would very properly head the daily mortuary list. G.

“Every one remembers the long and bloody street car strike in St. Louis. Perhaps outsiders received incorrect reports of the affair. St. Louisians know the truth. Whether the hard-working employees or this murderous band of law breakers were to blame may easily be determined.

“The Beef Trust is bad enough, but no worse than the hundreds of other blood-sucking vampires that infest the land. But the public notices it quickly because raised prices act directly and quickly upon an indignant public. The Steamship Trust is just as bad, but goes almost unnoticed because it acts only indirectly upon the people. The fact that they have the audacity to ask the government for a subsidy, which they will probably get, does not seem to strike the people as asking for their money.

“Rev. Dr. Parkhurst paid his respects to the Coal Trust the other day in the following words:

“If the coal companies or coal combines or coal trusts use their power to the end of draining off into their own

treasury as much of the poor man's money as they can or dare, to the impoverishment of the poor, to the reduction of their comfort and to the sapping of the currents of health and life, then such companies are possessed of the demon of theft and murder. And this is no more applicable to dealers in coal than to the dealers in any other commodity.'

"While Rev. Dr. Parkhurst was denouncing them as 'possessed by the demon of theft and murder,' another New York preacher, Rev. Dr. Heber Newton, to velvet pews and a millionaire flock, praised the trusts as a necessary and beneficent part of our advancing civilization.

"The 'Appeal to Reason' says:

"The official statement of the Steel Trust shows that its profits are \$10,000,000 a month, just for a starter. What the infant will do when it begins to grow may be conjectured. Now this is bad enough for the people, but it is nothing to what it will mean in a few years when this vast sum of ready cash must find investments. This profit will absorb many other industries.

"The Steel Trust has got possession of all the nickel mines and refining plants of the world. Nickles will soon be worth \$2. And thus the profits on iron will soon control other industries.

"The Steel Trust sells rails in England at \$22.50 and pays \$5.11 freight, and sells the rails here at \$28. See how much better we are than the blawsted British?

"The ship subsidy bill was designed to benefit princi-

pally the Standard Oil Company and the United States Steel Corporation, each paying tens of millions of dollars a year in dividends now. But the Rockefellers and Morgans of the country must be protected. The more they get the more they want. Some day the people will want part of their enormous and ill-gotten wealth—and will take it.

"The Globe-Democrat and Post-Dispatch printed the following:

"A London paper states that J. Pierpont Morgan recommends a joint system of trusts as the best means to cement friendship between England and the United States. Mr. Morgan's preference for this general remedy has long been suspected.—Globe-Democrat.

"While Mr. Morgan is combining the big carrying lines of the globe there are more than 1000 ships—tramp ships—lying at American ports unable to secure cargoes. These belong to small fellows who do not control railways, hence are not able to make the through rates the big fellows offer. When they have been starved out there will be none to say 'nay' to the mightiest of mighty men.—Post-Dispatch.

"Here is an article from 'The Chicago News':

MEN AND A MONSTER.

"When the railways that run through the anthracite coal districts of Pennsylvania decided to own the mines from which they hauled the coal to market they put up the freight charges to a prohibitive price. It was a policy

of confiscation and was successful. Mines and coal lands were sold by their owners to the railways. The sales were forced sales.

“There are more mines than are needed to supply the coal that is required by consumers at the high prices charged for it. The result is that the output of the various mines is limited according to an agreement among the mine operating companies. Mines are shut down part of the year. That throws the miners out of work. By the encouragement of foreign immigration into the mining districts the coal companies supplied themselves with more labor than they need. That made labor cheap. They have paid low wages and have made many charges against their men, such as those for rent, powder for blasting (a shameful overcharge), doctors' services (whether required or not), oil for lamps and provisions from company stores. In 1900 the United Mine Workers of America organized the anthracite coal miners and brought on a great strike, lasting forty-two days and resulting in a substantial victory for the men. Some of the old, bitter wrongs were righted.

“Other wrongs remain. Wages are fearfully low. Work is precarious. The miner can barely live on what he is permitted to earn. Meanwhile the price of anthracite coal to the consumer has risen enormously. The coal monopoly, working under an ironclad agreement, absorbs the great profits and hides them away under tricky book-keeping, by which 40 per cent or more of the selling price

of the coal disappears as freight charges—paid by the monopoly to itself. These charges are wildly unreasonable. Meanwhile the miner is permitted to dig when the mine is not shut down by agreement, making a bare living. He costs so little that the coal monopoly does not have to improve its methods. It can continue to use obsolete machinery and do its work in a wasteful manner because men are so cheap.

“The Coal Trust pays its men on the average \$1.28 a day. As the miners are employed only part of the time, the figures do not fairly represent what their wages is in proportion to their living expenses. Last year, which is said to have been a good year for miners, they were employed only 194 days, which means that their actual yearly earnings calculated by the day amounted to less than 80 cents. In 1899 the average number of working days was 180. A recent estimate places the average earning capacity of a miner for a year at \$248. Out of this sum he must pay the coal trust for house rent from \$37 to \$72 a year, must supply his own powder at \$14 a year and his own oil at \$5 a year, to say nothing of the fee to the coal companies’ physician, which is \$6 a year whether the physician is needed or not. With what the miner has left he must clothe and feed himself and his family, and this at a time when the necessities of life are unusually high.

“Recently the miners, through their union, asked 20 per cent increase in wages. It was denied them. They

are said to have offered to compromise on a 5 per cent advance, but the trust declined to treat with them. Now the miners have struck. The coal monopoly is going to do its best to defeat the miners and destroy their union. It wishes to thrust back into their former condition of serfdom the men who ask a living rate of payment for their hard and perilous toil. It is a battle of men against a monster—a sight to bring tears of compassion to the eyes of any one who considers all the circumstances attending it. These 140,000 workers ask merely a just wage, so that they may make life a little less hard for themselves and those whom they love. Yet they are to be crushed for daring to dispute with this lawless trust, which insists on 'running its own business.'

"The coal monopoly makes one serious mistake. The business which it conducts in violation of God's laws and man's laws becomes the public's business because of its evil nature. It is the duty of the United States department of justice to destroy this wicked trust.'"

"That is not all of their iniquity. With all their wealth and power, the trusts control politics and legislation. Professional politicians and lobbyists stand ready at all times to do their bidding. These men live at Washington and all of the state capitals and are known to make their living that way. I know hundreds of them, and they make no secret of their business. Nay, they almost advertise themselves to a disgusted public. Everybody knows this, and no one is surprised when a villainous piece of cor-

ruption or bribery is exposed. All have grown used to it on account of its frequency. Through these agents the trusts control the legislative bodies and courts of the land. Is it any wonder then that they go on doing just as they please? Is it remarkable that they defy the public, which seems to stand in fear and awe of them? And how are the people to reach them? If a different set of politicians get into power, the trusts proceed to corrupt and bribe them in the same way.

"Who can enumerate the evils of the trusts? There seems to be no end of them. Aside from their rebate system, the monopolization of industries, the ruin of competitors and the corruption and bribery of courts and legislative bodies, they throw thousands of people out of work. First, fully 90 per cent of their traveling men, drummers, agents, clerks and bookkeepers are dispensed with. Then, when they shut down some of their plants and drive competitors from the field, many more people are deprived of work, with the result that a job is a thing to be prized and held to by all manner of means. It stands between him who holds it and want. And the bitter struggle to hold these jobs gives rise to another danger, which is this: Every man working for a trust will be obliged to vote as commanded or lose his position. And right here is a dangerous moral support given to this iniquitous institution—the control of votes.

"So then we find that in addition to their corruption and bribery, they securely hold the reins of government by

popular vote. Thus we find enthroned in the high places not the will of the people, but plutocracy—plutocracy strong and arrogant, dictating the policy of a free Republic. And what can those Congressmen do who want to be honest? The words of Shakespeare apply very forcibly in this case: 'Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world like a Colossus, and we petty men walk under his huge legs, and peep about to find ourselves dishonorable graves.'

"Washington City has at last been taken by the enemy. Plutocracy has fortified its stronghold, and when the great American people awake some day it will be to find themselves as completely enthralled as were the Israelites by the Egyptians under Pharaoh.

"What will be the result when the awakening comes? What will happen when this force clashes with an enraged people—a people enraged by plunder, fraud and deceit? Only wisdom divine could prevent a cataclysm more fearful than anything this country has ever seen.

"These are not the only factors at work in bringing about this end. When all are considered, even the most optimistic must fear and tremble at the approaching storm.

"During my two terms in Congress, it seemed to me that the public stood helpless to remedy the evil. They have failed to pass laws for their own good. Like the courts, the legislative bodies seem clogged when such measures are attempted, but act freely and quickly when

anything is started for the benefit of plutocracy. All manners of laws are made and evaded by this terrible power at will.

“As I have said, this is not only my opinion after my experience in Congress, but is corroborated by an abundance of evidence on all sides. I do not ask anyone to accept the opinion of one Congressman, but submit the evidence for his judgment.”

CHAPTER III.

THE RAILROADS THE SERVANTS OF THE TRUSTS.

How They Are Operated to Oppress the People Instead
of for the Public Welfare—Astounding
Facts in Their History.

In delving into the secrets and mysteries of trusts, and in studying the subject in all its branches, I was brought face to face with the railroad question. I was surprised to find an intimate connection and relationship between the two. I had not expected my researches to lead me along this path, but as it did, I took it up and thoroughly investigated it also.

And, furthermore, I had been at Washington but a little while before I became impressed with the way the railroad interests are looked after by agents, lawyers and lobbyists in the service of the different roads, who haunt the legislative halls of Congress, and buttonhole Congressmen, Senators and officials who have any influence or power whatever. There at the fountain head and source of power, they flock to advance their own interests, by fair or foul means. One need not search long ere he discovers the interests of the trusts and railroads are identical to an extraordinary degree.

Yet the railroad has been, and is today, a very great factor in modern civilization. Its importance can scarce-

ly be overestimated. Through the railroads far away deserts and waste places have been brought into touch with the centers of population, and been made to blossom with civilization. It has brought the world together by annihilating distance. Bringing the people together it has brought an exchange of ideas, a broader conception and greater appreciation of humanity. Its practical and material benefits have been unlimited. With the railroad in operation famine is no more. At all times the products of remote districts may be sent to market and exchanged, thus enabling man at will to summon the comforts, luxuries and delicacies from the four quarters of the globe. In truth, the railroad plays an important part in all of our lives by being part of our industrial organism. All of our food, clothing, building material, etc., must be transported by rail more or less.

Being, then, such an important factor in our industrial organism, it is no wonder it has assumed proportions of such vast magnitude. According to the census reports, one-fifteenth of the entire population of the United States is dependent upon it. The capital invested is inconceivable, ten billions being a conservative estimate. The railroads own over 215,000,000 acres of land, most of which has been given or granted to them by the people. This area is as large as the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri and Kansas. Think of it! Six large states, and granted them by the people. Over this territory is operated 181,000 miles of railroad. One can grasp

but a faint idea of the strength and enormity of this agency. And like every other strong force that has great capacity for good, it has also great capacity for evil. And the railroads have been agents for great good and terrible evil both. Its good is advertised, its evil suppressed. In the coming revolution its power and force will be wielded with terrible effect.

This may appear to be a very strong statement, but a little reflection will prove it is not. Already its handiwork is seen in fostering trusts, in supporting a lobby in each legislative body in the country, and in bribing courts and officials all over the land. Finally, when the revolution bursts upon us, a general stoppage of the traffic will bring trouble, misery and starvation to thousands—yes, hundreds of thousands. It is estimated that if the railroads were to cease running entirely, starvation would lay its hand on New York, Philadelphia and all large cities depending on them for provisions, within two weeks.

“And this is what will happen during the coming revolution. Railroads will be more the cause than the victim of this cataclysm. Take the great coal strike of Pennsylvania. The railroads and coal mines are owned by the same capitalists. How was this accomplished? In the beginning the owners of the railroads decided to own the coal fields and mines. They purchased some of the mines and raised the freight rates. But to their own mines they rebated the largest part of the money paid them for freight. In this way they could undersell everybody else.

Soon the weaker ones were forced to sell their mines to the railroads. This war was kept up until all competition was driven from the field, and the owners of the railroads owned the entire coal fields. All of the terrible strikes are the result of greed and avarice in attempting to rob the poor miners by cutting their wages to a point that barely furnishes them a means of existence. The public is not blind to the greed and avarice of these immense railroad corporations, neither do they blame the poor working men for refusing to work for starvation wages. When the great revolt comes, with its strikes and riots, in railroad, mine and factory, the railroads will cease running, plunging all of the large cities into a wild panic, resulting in chaos, misery and starvation.

The Sugar Trust and many others are favored by the railroads in just the same way as the mines and the Oil Trust.

Thus it may be seen that in addition to the widely-advertised good accomplished by the railroads, a corresponding amount of evil may be laid at their doors, which, of course, they deny and seek to hide. Take even the amount of bribery of which they are guilty. The least observing citizen knows they spend millions annually by keeping a lobby, not only at Washington, but at every State Capital in the Union, which corrupts everybody and anybody who will and can assist them to attain their ends, even down to officials and legislative bodies in the cities and towns.

That public morals should thus be contaminated and

lowered is a terrible menace to the well being of the Commonwealth. With their enormous wealth, bribes, influence and fat positions, they are the making and unmaking of many politicians. They have the power to ruin or promote the interest of thousands of citizens just as they see fit. Can you doubt that the railroad enters into our civil and moral life, as well as into our business and industrial?

The railroads of the country may be likened to the arteries in the human body, a means of healthful circulation when in a healthy condition. When the blood flows easily through the body, life, health, usefulness, happiness, etc., are all promoted. But let the blood cease to flow properly; let some trouble arise and congestion set in. Unless this be corrected, calamity is bound to result. Our great country, with its teeming millions of people, is an organism—a body economic. Heretofore the railroads have run freely to and fro, bringing plenty, peace, happiness and health to society. As long as this continues the body economic will be edified and built up. But suppose all the railroads should be tied up at the same time—which is more than probable when the Railroad Trust comes—say by an universal strike? The facts stand out plainly that the stoppage would work infinite hardship and suffering upon all the people. In the first place, coal could not be transported, and the direct effect would be to shut down factories, foundaries, mills, shops, etc. A taste of this was had when in 1895 the great railroad

strike took place, starting in Chicago and spreading over a large part of the country. In a few days the local coal supplies gave out and thousands of plants were compelled to shut down. Yet this strike was not universal or of long duration. But a general and prolonged tie-up would be different. Fuel would soon be so scarce and food so utterly impossible to secure that, as has been stated, the government staticians estimate that in two weeks starvation would sieze the larger cities, and the distress and misery would be something unheard of before.

"But," some will say, "the government will order out the federal troops; railroad traffic will be started, even if blood must be shed."

Exactly. This is precisely what will happen. The federal troops and the people will clash and blood will be shed. But, mark! This is not the only difficulty that will have to be contended with in the year 1907. The railroad question, like the trust question, is only one of many equally dangerous factors that will have to be contended with. On all sides will be strife and turmoil just as terrible. And while it is true that the government will send the federal troops to the various scenes of carnage, is it not true that a revolution is on when the people and government clash?

"But," it may be said, "all of this may be averted. Peace and prosperity may spread its wings over the land once more, and the railroads begin to pursue the straight and narrow way, thus giving entire satisfaction to everybody.

They may cease bribing and corrupting, and in every way make themselves popular with the citizens of America."

To this I say Amen, and that I wish we could see such bright prospects in the future. But that no such signs appear can be easily proven. Let us see.

To begin with, the railroads are run for a profit. They must earn dividends first, last and always. Everything else is secondary, even the public service. The presidents, managers and officials who attain this end are encouraged, but those that fail are discharged by their employers, the stockholders. The aim, then, of all presidents, managers, officials, etc., may readily be seen. Dividend-earning is the sole aim. Profits they must show, and their qualifications, abilities and salaries are determined by this alone. The owners ask no questions, offer no suggestions or criticisms, save along this line.

So then we find it quite natural for them to consider the public welfare as a secondary matter. The people's crops, goods and products of any description are only incidental considerations. The public welfare is not even that. Vanderbilt once said, "The public be damned," and that is about the sentiment of all the railroad owners. But the practice of duping the people is so old it has become habitual; and the public has learned to take it as a matter of course.

Do the railroads succeed then in obtaining such large dividends? They do. Their profits are fabulous, but they

succeed in hiding the fact from the public in a very shrewd way. Instead of declaring 50 or 100 per cent dividends, they water their stock ten times its real value and then declare a 5 or 10 per cent dividend on this watered stock, which looks like very modest earnings to the public.

A great deal might be said of the practice of watering stocks, but we will only briefly touch on the subject.

Speaking of the railroads of the United States, Mr. Van Oss, in his "American Railroads as Investments" (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893), estimates that the bonds did not cost the investors over 67 cents on the dollar, and the stocks not over 10 cents on the dollar. He says of the latter:

"But for \$4,650,000,000 shares now in existence, the original investor paid not more than \$465,000,000, or 10 per cent of their face value, and probably less. Hence shares now return at least 18 per cent per annum on the original investment." (Page 139.)

He defends this watering of stocks on the ground that it prevents legislators from reducing railroad rates.

In some cases the extent to which the watering of securities has been carried is surprising. Thus Mr. C. Wood Davis, formerly general freight and passenger agent of one of the leading railroads, says:

"The 107 miles of the Kansas Midland, cost, including a small equipment, but \$10,200 per mile, of which 30 per cent was furnished by the municipalities along its line.

Yet with construction profits and other devices, this road shows a capitalization of \$53,000 per mile."

That is to say, deducting the donations of the municipalities, the road cost the constructors about \$7,000 per mile, and they issued stocks and bonds to the amount of \$53,000 per mile.

The railroads could be rebuilt for one-third of their present capitalization—possibly for less than that. The Union Pacific railroad proved before the Salt Lake City Board of Equalization that the cost of building the Utah Central was \$7,298 per mile. The Missouri Pacific cost less than \$10,000 per mile. An American firm has recently taken a contract to build a line of railroad in Canada for \$8,000 per mile. Even at \$20,000 per mile, the present value of the railroads of the United States would be \$3,622,660,000, while they are capitalized at \$10,859,239,923. Mr. Chas. B. Spahr, in his "Distribution of Wealth," page 41, estimates that the railroads of the country cost the original investors \$3,714,400,000. The fictitious indebtedness, or watered stock, is nothing but capitalized extortion, which is in effect a mortgage on the industry of the country.

I think every one is willing to concede and believe that railroad stocks are watered, and watered a very great deal, and I think also it is apparent to everyone that a small dividend on the watered stock is an enormous dividend on the real capital invested.

If, then, the railroads are making such enormous divi-

dends and profits, how is it done? What do they resort to? They resort to everything. They stop at nothing. Even the United States government is robbed annually of vast sums. In hauling the mails the greatest frauds imaginable are practiced. We quote the Appeal to Reason in an article which explains this system of fraud very clearly:

HOW THE GOVERNMENT IS ROBBED.

"The government refuses to increase the pay of letter carriers, postal clerks and other government employes.

"Mr. Loud and others in charge of post office affairs raise the cry of extravagance as an excuse for overworking and underpaying men employed by the United States government.

"We should like very much to know what Mr. Loud and other post office authorities have to say about the steady robbing of the government BY THE RAILROADS.

"Who gets the money paid out by the railroad lobby, that its robbing of the government may go on?

"It would be interesting to know why it is that no man in public office combines the ability and honesty necessary to shut out the railroad thieves.

"Read some figures; bear them in mind when government ownership of railroads is discussed.

"Senator Vilas, of Wisconsin, in a speech in the Senate, February 13, 1895, supplied the following figures among others:

"The cost of building one of the railway post office cars averages \$3,500.

"The railroads charge the government a certain rental for the use of these cars, in addition to making the government pay for the hauling of the cars.

"According to the railroad figures supplied to Senator Vilas, the following expense accompanies the operating of postal cars, for each car:

"Light, \$276 a year; heating, \$365 a year; repairs, \$350 a year; cleaning, \$365 a year; total average cost of maintaining each car in use, \$1,356.

"It is needless to point out the extravagance of these estimates. But let them stand for the purpose of argument.

"When Senator Vilas was speaking, it was proposed to appropriate \$3,250,000 to be paid by the government for renting post office cars during the ensuing year. That amount was to be paid for 790 post office cars—560 cars in use, 180 cars in reserve, and 50 additional cars that might become necessary.

"According to the railroads' own figures, the cost of maintaining and operating these cars would be \$890,160.

"Take that amount from the appropriation of \$3,205,000 and you find that the railroads were paid by the government \$2,314,840 for the USE of the cars for one year.

"To build those cars outright cost only \$2,765,000.

"So that, after deducting a sufficient amount to renew the cars and keep them in order, the railroads steal from

the government in one year practically the total cost of building the cars. IN ADDITION, THE GOVERNMENT PAYS AN EXTRAVAGANTLY HIGH RATE FOR HAULING ALL THESE CARS.

"Things have been getting worse instead of better since Vilas made his speech: For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1901, the government paid to the railroad companies for the use of post office cars—as rental, independent of the charge for hauling the cars—\$4,638,234.03. Seven hundred and sixty-five cars were used. Thus, as rental for each car, the government paid an average of \$6,063.05.

"To build a mail car costs \$3,500; the outside limit, as fixed by the railroads, of the cost of maintaining and operating the car in use is \$1,356—a total of \$4,856 for building a car and keeping it in order for a year.

"Therefore, the government paid the railroads for each car per year the total cost of building the car, the cost of maintaining it, and \$1,207.05 additional.

"Every year the railroads get back from the government the entire cost of every car, the entire cost of maintaining and operating them, \$1,207.05 besides, and the regular scale for carrying the mails, as the law provides—an extravagantly high rate—over and above all the rest.

"Individual railroads fare better than others.

"Take, for example, the New York Central Railroad, which owns one of New York State's representatives in

the United States Senate, Mr. Depew, and controls the other, Mr. Platt, through his express company.

"The New York Central carries the government mails on the routes from New York to Buffalo. In 1901 the government paid the New York Central \$230,033.60 for the USE of 22 cars.

"Therefore, the government paid to the New York Central for one year \$10,456.07 for each car.

"That is to say, each year it pays the original cost of building the car, and the total cost of maintaining the car, TWICE OVER.

"AND AT THE END OF THE YEAR THE RAILROAD STILL OWNS THE CAR.

"In addition, the railroad company received from the government \$1,288,080.41 for transporting the mails, under the regular weight schedule, between New York and Buffalo.

"If you want to know how the railroads rob the government, through the connivance of Senators, Congressmen and others influenced by the railroad lobby, study these figures, and compare the charges for transporting government mail matter and ordinary express matter to a New York Central station twenty miles from New York:

"For carrying 200 pounds per day of mail matter, at \$50 per mile per annum, the railroad is authorized to charge in one year \$1,000.

"The express company carries a 200-pound package the same distance every day for \$365 a year.

"In other words, the government pays \$1,000 for carrying 200 pounds of mail matter twenty miles every day for a year, in addition to paying an enormous rental for the cars. Express matter travels the same distance at the same speed for \$365 a year, and both the railroad company and the express company make a good profit on the transaction.

"Poor's Manual gives the Pennsylvania Railroad company's own statement for 1900 as to its earnings.

"On passengers, the railroad earns a small fraction over 2 cents per mile per passenger. On freight, it earns a little less than a third of a cent per mile per ton.

"THE GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, PAYS ALL THE RAILROADS, INCLUDING THE PENNSYLVANIA, AN AVERAGE OF 12.18 PER MILE.

"These are dull figures, but when you talk government ownership, when you talk about the robbery of the public by corporations, it is well to have some facts at your disposal. Remember that the United States government pays every year to the railroads \$38,000,000 for carrying the mails and for the use of cars.

"In France, where the government controls all the railroads, owns many of them, and will eventually own all, THE RAILROADS CARRY THE MAILS FREE, IN RETURN FOR THEIR GRANTS OF RIGHT OF WAY.

"In Switzerland the railroads receive nothing for carry-

ing the mails. The company that got permission to build a railroad had to carry mail free in exchange for the privilege—with this exception: If the railroad company actually earned less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year, the government paid a reasonable price for mail service. The Swiss, more wise than we, have now made all railroads government property.

"In Germany, all railroads must carry one mail car free. If other cars are needed to transport the mails the government pays a small rate, which barely represents the cost of hauling the cars.

"Austria's rules are practically the same as those of Germany.

"The British parliament, like our own national congress, consists largely of men owned by the railroads. But they have some shame over there, and, although the British mail service includes the parcels post and does the work of our express companies, the government pays to the railroads for all of its carrying, including this enormous parcel express business, only one-ninth of the amount which the United States government pays the railroads for the carrying of pure mail matter.

"The public officials in Washington who connive at this kind of thievery talk about extravagance and waste when it is suggested that the hard-working men who sort the letters in the post office or carry the huge bundles on their backs should be paid fairly.

"They can easily be persuaded to give away millions of

government money to the New York Central Railroad, which has one of its lackeys and one of its puppets in the United States Senate, but they can't treat fairly the actual workers who serve the people.

"The railroads overcharge the government for carrying the mails. The postal department knows it; Congress knows it; the Senators know it; the Cabinet knows it; the President knows it. Then why is it not stopped? Echo answers in capital letters—WHY? Go ask the lobby in the hire of the corporations."

Another way they increase their enormous dividends is by overcharging and taking advantage of shippers whenever the opportunity presents itself. This fall the harvests to be moved are truly great and bounteous. Yet the railroads are already beginning their cry of a shortage of cars, a car famine, etc., after which the next step of charging more for the cars will be made easier.

"The Interstate Commerce Commission was once examining railroad officials in 1895. The testimony was interesting. Among other things, the Vice President of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad said that they were guided, in making their rates, by one thing, and that was to always exact all the traffic would bear. And this is a well known maxim with all the roads.

I quote the Phoenix Gazette as follows:

"Railroad companies charge the same rates of fare now as they did thirty years ago, although they purchase all their supplies and equipments at one-half less than then.

Why have fares not fallen like other things?"—*Phoenix Gazette*.

I quote another writer as follows:

"It is often said that freight charges have been reduced in recent years. In some cases where there was competition between different roads or with canal or other water routes, rates have been reduced. In other cases they have been raised. For instance, in 1889 the rate of carrying a bale of cotton from Eufala, Indian Territory, to St. Louis, Mo., a distance of 535 miles, was \$3. In 1891-92 it was \$3.30. In 1894-5 it was \$4. Many similar instances could be given. Rates are always kept up to the highest notch possible. But the railroads through their subsidized organs always try to carry the impression that they are reducing rates, and such cases as the above are rarely heard of by the public."

The Appeal to Reason says:

"The people of this country pay more for the use of the railroads and get less benefits than any country on earth, and the railroads exercise more despotic power over trade than in any other country. And in other countries the roads now owned by the public are not very good either.

"The railroads in this section have issued order of increase in freight rates. The consolidation was to cut down expenses and give the public the benefit, you know! How do you like the benefit of private consolidation? Local papers are silent. Afraid of passes, see?"

The practice of overcharging in freight rates has been

the cause of terrible hardships at different times. Not many years since the farmers of Kansas had an abundant harvest of corn. The price it brought was low and it was so plentiful that the farmers burned it for fuel, because the price of coal was very high. But at the same time the coal miners of Illinois were in a starving condition, owing to a shut-down of the mines, there being an over-production of coal. Here, then, was a strange state of affairs. The miners wanted the farmers' corn to eat. The farmers wanted the coal, but they could not effect an exchange. The farmers might burn the corn, but the miners could not eat the coal. All that was needed was an exchange of products. The railroads might have effected this, but they did not. Instead they maintained an exorbitantly high rate on both corn and coal—a rate so high that there would be nothing left after paying the freight. The result was that the miners continued living in a starving condition, while the farmers suffered from the cold.

But the railroads have proven themselves heartless and soulless in more than one case. I quote an article from the St. Louis Star, that describes an actual occurrence, though it is so heartless it is hard to believe:

BRUTAL INHUMANITY.

"A circumstance occurred upon the platform of the Missouri Pacific depot Wednesday morning at Jefferson City that ought to serve as a lasting lesson to both the railroad and the Capital City authorities that the people

generally will not put up with anything smacking of brutality among human or brute creation.

"About 9 o'clock Tuesday night a youngster 12 or 15 years of age was taken from the top of a freight car, apparently fatally injured by some obstruction in a tunnel.

"The boy was laid on a stretcher and the railway physician, together with the mayor and marshal of the city, notified, and, according to the story of the policeman on duty at the depot, the physician came, and really without any examination, declined to do anything in the premises, whereupon the mayor and marshal instructed the officer to do nothing. In the meantime the boy became unconscious, and at 2 o'clock in the morning he was still on the stretcher, not having received any attention whatever, except what the baggagemaster could give him.

"As the returning delegates began to assemble upon the platform the condition of the injured boy became noised around, and the facts being elicited, the officer was imperatively given to understand that the boy must be taken care of, and the promise was made that immediate attention should be given the apparently dying youngster, but it was not until the Hon. Richard Bartholdt gave orders that the boy should be taken to a hospital and cared for at his own expense that any action whatever was taken.

"The inattention to the boy perhaps grew out of a disagreement between the railway and the city as to which should assume the responsibility of caring for the unfor-

tunate, and in the meantime he was left to suffer, and for that matter, die.

"No more heartless sight was ever witnessed, at least in a civilized community, than that which was uncovered to the view of the hundreds of people assembled at the depot of the Missouri Pacific Railway in the Capital City of Missouri at 2 o'clock Wednesday morning."

But to go back to the previous discussion; that is, as to the possibility of the railroads mending their evil ways and becoming public servants, popular, just and fair. They would have to become this to be eliminated as a factor in the revolution. Will they do it? Reason says no. The facts in the case say no. For the railroads to become fair and just would mean to largely reduce their dividends, and this is something that never will be tolerated. Rather than cut down their profits they will resort to anything. It is more likely they will seek to increase their profits. In fact, everything points to that move on their part. The question is, how much more will the American people stand? How long will they submit to the thumb screws? The halt will be called when the general uprising takes place. In the meantime the railroads are doing their part to hasten that day. I quote the "Appeal to Reason" again:

THE MORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD.

"Napoleon's plot to secure control of all Europe—Russia's plot to control the whole eastern coast of Asia—the plotting of all the diplomatists of the world, fade into the

pale colors of a departing rainbow compared to the plot of three American financiers to control the money of the world.

"The plot, in its magnificent sequence, spreading over all the lands and seas of the Western hemisphere, is exposed. H. Gaylord Wilshire, editor of Wilshire's Magazine and candidate for parliament from West Elgin, Canada, gives the astonishing details in the June number of Wilshire's Magazine. Advance sheets of the ultra sensational article, fresh from the press, have just reached the newspaper offices.

"'Give me a lever long enough and a place to stand on and I can move the earth,' has always been regarded as an idealistic claim of a fanciful philosopher.

"J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and James J. Hill are three financiers who have found a place to stand on, and the place is New York. They have a lever long enough—the Northern Securities Company decision by the United States Supreme Court—and Mr. Wilshire shows how they can move the earth.

"With \$100,000,000, these three men can absolutely control \$800,000,000 of stocks, being the whole issue of the Burlington, the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railways.

"They have actually invested \$200,000,000 to control the Northern Securities Company. But by organizing the First Organization Company, as Mr. Wilshire calls it, to control the Northern Securities Company, they can se-

cure the whole capitalization of the latter company with their \$200,000,000 of stock in the Northern Securities Company, and then sell half of the First Organization Company's stock to the public—or 49 per cent of it—and get \$100,000,000 of their capital back.

"In the revelation published by Mr. Wilshire, Morgan further proposes to his two confreres to later float the Second and Third and even the Fourth Organization Companies, securing additional roads with each reorganization until eventually the great systems such as the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Union Pacific, Santa Fe, and in fact all the roads in the country, will be controlled by these three magnates, while the amount invested by them will be nothing.

"To what lengths the continued division of stock issues into majority and minority holdings can be carried has never before been pointed out. The natural consummation of the Northern Securities decision has never before been realized and the Organization of the industries of the world, along this line, is made not only clear, but very, very near, in this wonderful exposition of the great financial plot that hangs low over the heads of the public."

The Denver News has the following item:

WHAT WILL THE HARVEST BE?

"The United States Supreme Court not only decided in favor of the Hill-Morgan railroad trust, but barred Minnesota from bringing any further cases against the merger in any court. The trusts are sowing the seed and the



courts are raking it in. What will the harvest be?"—J. A. E. in Denver News.

All of these nefarious practices on the part of the railroads can have but one effect—the ultimate protest of an indignant public. Big strikes will take place. Public sympathy will be with the strikers. Many sympathy strikes will take place against the railroads. Riots will result and the militia, federal troops and police will take part. This phase, the railroad question, is only one of many other agents at work toward the same end.

CHAPTER IV.

LEGISLATION.

Fraudulent Elections; National, State and City—Revelations of Appalling Corruption—The Courts; the Injunction and Other Desperate Measures.

"But to go back to my work at Congress. I had made up my mind to fight the trusts right from the beginning, and to raise my voice in protest against them at every opportunity. This I did. At the same time there were many other Congressmen doing the same thing, of whom quite a number were in earnest, and just as anxious to legislate against these institutions as I was. I had introduced an anti-trust bill, but it was tabled with a number of others. The first year had almost passed, and it had not been taken up yet.

It is true a great deal of work must be done and Congress is kept very busy. However, there always seems to be time enough for other work, such as appropriation bills, railroad and corporation bills, etc., but very little time for anti-trust bills. The reason is plain enough, for nearly every member of Congress is a holder of stocks and bonds in railroads, mining, oil or other interests that must

be looked after first, and that must not be injured by any anti-trust legislation. Yes, and even many of the Congressmen work hard and openly for one or more of these enterprises. That is the way it is now and has been for many years. This is the way Congress works:

"Fourteen thousand five hundred bills have been reported to the House of Representatives. Of this number less than 2,000 have been favorably passed upon by the various committees through whose hands all legislation must pass, before the people's representatives can vote on them. Of this number not a single one in any way effects labor other than adversely. The entire lot are based upon the financial interest of a few individuals and corporations. Here are some of the subjects considered. Bills have been introduced on these subjects: Mails and postage, 38; public buildings, 304; change pension laws, 140; monuments and statues, 59; trusts, 20; tariff acts, 38; churches, 168; bankruptcy, 18; bridges, 48; currency, 21; constitution, 42; Chinese, 9; District of Columbia, 165; pure foods, 8; Indians, 102; interstate commerce, 47; immigration, 12; irrigation, 18; mines and mining, 9."

In a little pamphlet entitled "In Hell and the Way Out," a number of indictments are brought against Congressmen, Senators and the different recent administrations. They are not exaggerated at all. I quote some of them:

"The persistent refusal of Congress to establish postal

savings banks in the face of an almost universal demand for them.

"The various scandals in which Senators, Congressmen and other officials, including the President, have been charged with boodle transactions in deals with the Sugar Trust, mail contracts, Chicago Gas stock, bond syndicates, etc.

"Corporation attorneys, like Senators Thurston, Vilas, Hill and others, being allowed to hold public and corporate positions at the same time.

"The encouragement by Congress of the militia, and the effort to keep stationed large detachments of regulars near the manufacturing centers—making it manifest that any movement against plutocratic spoilation will be instantly crushed.

"The fact that the political bosses go to the Whitneys, Rockefellers, Havemeyers and Pullmans for their heavy corruption campaign funds is certainly presumptive evidence that the old parties are mortgaged to wealth from the beginning. (Vide Senator Chandler's charges against Mark Hanna.)

"Repeal of laws in the various legislatures in the interest of wealth, which regulated the employment of child and female labor. Note also the recent increase in the salaries of United States marshals to \$4,500 a year—more than the average pay of governors.

"The investigation ordered by the 48th Congress of the enormous defalcations under the Grant administrations

shows that more than 17 million dollars were stolen between 1869 and 1883, and only a quarter of a million was recovered. This occurred in the signal service and disbursing office of the state department alone. In 1876 Senator Davis, of West Virginia, got a committee appointed to investigate the condition of the treasury. Through the testimony laid before this committee, together with the examination of the ledgers of the department, it was shown that 2,527 erasures and alterations had been made, and that \$247,768,341 had been stolen, or was wholly unaccounted for."

Why spend time trying to prove facts that everybody is aware of? All of these charges can be proved and do not half cover the ground. At the annual dinner of the "Southern Society," recently ex-Justice Augustus Van Wyck said: "The sale of the law is the crying evil of the day." Of course. And everybody agrees with him. Here is the statement of an ex-judge saying that laws are sold in this country. But we all know it. None are surprised.

But Plutocracy has other ways of attaining its ends, in addition to those cited. When a lobby and legislation fails to secure its wants, Plutocracy resorts to another expediency, and that is the injunction. The injunction in most cases is not only wrong, but absolutely illegal. It is the acme of modern rascality, and one of the greatest violations of American Liberty. Never in the history of America has there been anything to favor the Classes like the Injunction.

Take the injunction issued by Judge Jackson, forbidding anyone to help the striking coal miners in any way, shape or manner whatever. No one even should be permitted to give them food. Business men go to each other's aid in panics and reverses, and are many times tided over these difficulties. But according to Judge Jackson, working men are to be denied this same privilege, and cast into jail if caught doing it. Class Legislation has become unpopular, so the Class Injunction is substituted.

But the broken-spirited miners, their weeping wives and starving children, together with the thousands of poor that will suffer this winter, will send a wail and prayer to heaven against these injustices that shall echo in the ears and hearts of all Americans; that shall not die but shall increase until it ends in the roar of the great Revolution.

I quote the St. Louis Star in part:

"Press Dispatch to The St. Louis Star.

"PARKERSBURG, W. Va., July 24.—There was the most intense interest in the crowded room of the United States district court this morning, when Judge Jackson began reading his lengthy decision declaring 'Mother' Mary Jones, angel of the miners, and seven other organizers of the United Mine Workers, and four Hungarians, to be guilty of contempt in disregarding his injunction of June 19, against holding a meeting or creating a demonstration at or near the Pinnickinnick mine of the Clarks-

burg Fuel Company, or near the residence of miners at work there.

"Judge Jackson's huge frame shook with emotion as he dramatically emphasized portions of his decision.

"He sentenced the defendants as follows:

"Thomas Haggerty, 90 days in jail; Wm. Morgan, Bernard Rice, Peter Wilson, W. A. Blakely, George Bacon, Thomas Laskavish, 60 days each.

"Judge Jackson stated that the defendants would not be sent to the same jail.

"District Attorney Blizzard sprung a sensation by immediately filing an affidavit that W. B. Wilson, secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, had violated a restraining order at Clarksburg and Fairmont, by making inflammatory speeches. His arrest was asked. Judge Jackson made an order that Wilson be brought within the jurisdiction of the court. Wilson is said to be in Indianapolis.

"'Mother' Jones, it is said, will receive a stiff fine and will not be jailed.

"'Mother' Jones was the center of interest. She was surrounded by the other defendants and Vice President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers. The defendants were surprised at the decision and are bitter. The miners agree that this is the most effective blow that could be struck against the men's cause in their attempt to get out the 12,000 miners in the Fairmount coal fields.

"Press Dispatch to The St. Louis Star.

"Parkersburg, W. Va., July 24.—Mother Jones gave out the following signed statement:

"I have been asked what I would do in case I am fined. I have no money myself to pay a fine, and will not allow anybody else to pay it for me. There shall be no compromise in my case. I shall not surrender any of my American principles. I want the people to understand that I will not surrender any of my rights to courts. This is a fight for justice. Abraham Lincoln fought to have the slaves freed. The blood of 15 miners was shed in Illinois before we got justice there. Great battles are not won in a day. I'm not afraid to go to jail.

"(Signed) "MOTHER" MARY JONES."

So injunction will last for a time, but only long enough for the people to become aroused. Abraham Lincoln said, "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and you can fool all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

Two or three days before the close of session, and about a year after I took my seat, the anti-trust bill I had prepared was taken up and read. I made a two-hours' speech, telling of my experience with trusts, and the experience of others, together with all the facts and data I could summon. A few short speeches were made in favor of it and a few against it. A vote was taken and it was lost. The attitude of the members during the proceedings was

that of unconcern. Like proceedings had taken place many times before. Why should they care?

"It is hard to talk of clear, cold facts when the heart cries out against injustice. It is hard to refrain from telling the many personal experiences through which I passed. For the present I must hasten on to more important things than my being a member of Congress. I must briefly pass over the rest of my term in Congress, my reelection to office, and the two futile years spent there again. The second term was a repetition of the first—a failure of myself and others to strike a blow at trusts in any way, shape or manner whatever. It was a hard struggle—this two-year fight—and filled with many incidents. The same lobbying and enthusiastic interest in behalf of the moneyed interests, and the same indifference as to the welfare of the people prevailed.

After two terms had passed I began to doubt whether I ever would be able to do any good, but made up my mind to accept a third term if the people chose to re-elect me.

And now comes the harrowing tale. I was renominated and began an earnest canvas to win the election. My opponent was the lawyer who first came to see me as an agent for the trust. I remembered his face well and still had his card, the one he gave me when directing me to write him in case I wished to sell out to the trust.

To me the whole thing was clear as day. He had been a faithful servant of the trust; they had tried him and were now satisfied he was capable of representing them in Con-

gress. Furthermore, they would kill two birds with one stone. They would defeat and get me out of the way. I had had my eye teeth cut; knew how the trusts worked, and never for an instant doubted what their plans would be. And subsequent events proved me correct. And I knew more. I knew he would go to Congress. I would win, but victory would be his. And I was right again.

But I made a hard canvass. Myself and friends worked like Trojans. I knew I would lose. But I intended to make my enemies do all they possibly could, and spend as much money as possible in defeating me. And this they did. They spent money like water. But it was an object lesson to the people. I called attention to the fact, showed the people that he was an agent for the trust that had ruined me, and showed how the trust wished to send him to Congress as a tool, while getting me out of the way.

He denied he was working for anybody's interests save those of the people. He said if he ever came to see me on business it was a single visit for a single fee, such as lawyers are called upon to perform hundreds of times.

My opponent, backed by the trust, had to resort to every trick and fraud conceivable in order to win. They stuffed the ballots, bribed the judges and clerks, used intimidation at times, and by every hook and crook fought to attain their ends.

Does the reader think this extraordinary? Does he think it unusual? Then he is mistaken. These things

have occurred many times over. It has become a common occurrence. I will quote the St. Louis Star in reciting the Butler case of St. Louis in 1901. However, I wish to say that because Butler was a Democrat, I do not claim the Republicans are better than the Democrats. Not at all. They are both equally bad. However, the following account is very correct:

"Special to The St. Louis Star.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28.—The seat in Congress from the Twelfth Missouri District will be declared vacant this afternoon, and James J. Butler of St. Louis will be ousted.

"A new election will have to be held in the district to fill the vacancy. Butler will be ousted as a result of the gigantic frauds, which were perpetrated under the infamous Nesbit law. The contest was instituted by William Horton, who was the Republican nominee.

"Saturday's programme in the Horton-Butler contest includes an hour's speech by Mr. Butler, who will close the debate for his side.

"Judge Taylor, chairman of the contest committee, will close the proceedings with a speech, and it is expected that a vote will be reached by 4 p. m.

"During Friday's debate Congressman Bartholdt made a strong speech denouncing the gigantic frauds perpetrated by the Democratic party in Missouri. Congressman Bartholdt said in part:

GANGS OF REPEATERS.

“Hundreds of citizens have seen these frauds perpetrated with their own eyes. They have seen the repeaters as they were driven in wagon loads from polling place to polling place, they have seen them enter, they have seen the doors closed behind them, and they have seen them emerge after their nefarious work was done. In many places they saw how the Republican challengers and judges and clerks were ejected, and they saw how all this was done under the very eyes, with the connivance of, and in some cases, under the protection of the police. This is not circumstantial evidence, but what I have just recited are stubborn facts which the minority of the committee by no amount of sophistry can explain away. There were about a hundred of those repeaters, or “Indians,” as they are called in slander of our aborgines. On election day they were divided in smaller bands, and, each under the leadership of a chief, sent out to do the work for which they had been hired. The preparations for these election crimes had been so openly and boldly carried on that weeks in advance the Republican leaders were fully advised of the plans of the Democratic bosses. We knew that the registration lists had been padded with thousands of fraudulent names, and that each one of those names was to be voted. They were registered in large numbers from stables, saloons, coal yards, bawdy houses and vacant lots. From the stables of the Excelsior Hauling Company—an enterprise controlled by Edward Butler,

contestee's father—ninety-seven men were registered, though it is a notorious fact that not more than two or three men usually live there. To what extent fraudulent registration has been carried on was shown later when 19,900 names were dropped from the voters' lists.

ELECTION WAS STOLEN.

“We were advised, I repeat it, of every detail of the scheme to steal the election, but under the circumstances the Republicans were well nigh helpless. The election machinery and the police organization were completely under the domination of the Democratic party. Should the Republicans resort to force to prevent the perpetration of the frauds? Fortunately calmer counsels prevailed, and as the only alternative left this plan was finally agreed upon. That registered letters be addressed to those suspected of false registration, and warrants be issued against all the persons who could not thus be found. These warrants were to be placed in the hands of deputy sheriffs to be specially appointed for that purpose. It was an honest and perfectly legal plan to prevent crime. Of course, but a small percentage of the 1,500 registered letters which were sent out could be delivered, but when the deputy sheriffs on the morning of the election presented themselves at the polls with their warrants they were told by the police to move on. A State law which provides that all citizens except the election officials, the police and those who want to vote must keep 100 feet away from the polls, was enforced by the police even

against the officers of the law, in which capacity the deputy sheriffs undoubtedly acted. Under these circumstances no arrests could be made, because a fraudulent voter could be identified only when inside of the poll he announced his alleged name.

“Had the presence of a deputy sheriff been permitted, he would have immediately arrested his man and probably the whole conspiracy would have been nipped in the bud. It was for this reason that, as a result of a dark lantern conference at the Southern Hotel, orders were issued to the police to keep the deputy sheriffs away from the polls. These orders were carried out to the letter at each polling place. The last obstacle to the boldly arranged orgies of fraud was thus swept away, and a new chapter was added to the election history of fair St. Louis, which brings the blush of shame and indignation to the cheek of every good citizen, irrespective of party affiliation.

DEMOCRATIC TRICKERY.

“Let me tell you something about that law. It is as neat a piece of partisan legislation as has ever been brought to the notice of this House or the country. It applies to St. Louis alone. The reason for this is that the great metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, abreast with the best sentiment of the country, had dared to give to McKinley 15,000 majority, while most of the rural districts of Missouri had rolled up their old-time Democratic majorities. This was bitter, so the bosses went to the Leg-

islature and asked that St. Louis be made Democratic by law. Troubled by their consciences and afraid of public opinion, some of the Democratic members balked, but they were finally whipped into line. The Nesbit law was passed and it was a great moment, because from the birth of Nesbitism dates the decadence of the Missouri Democracy. It was giving notice to all the people of the State that Democratic majorities were no longer the natural expression of public opinion, but must henceforth be maintained by artificial devices. You see? But what are the provisions of the law? Well, the Governor appoints three Election Commissioners, not four, as in some Republican States, so that two might be appointed for each party. Oh, no, only three—two Democrats and one Republican—and the Republican, too, is one of his own choosing. No matter how good a man the representative of the minority party may be, you know that a pair always beats ace high. That is the secret of the law.

“The rest is easy. The Commissioners have complete charge of the registration, locate the polling places and appoint the judges and clerks of election. It is true that the Republican judges and clerks shall be recommended by the City Central Committee of that party, the same as the Democratic election officials, but there is no provision to prevent the Commissioners from arbitrarily substituting other names for those recommended by the party committee. Wholesale substitutions of this kind were made in the Twelfth District. According to the law,

these substitutes should have been Republicans, but what party they really belonged to was shown when the ballots were examined. Fifty-four of these alleged Republicans voted the Democratic ticket outright, three scratched Horton, and three voted for the Third Party candidate. Here we have the reason, too, why the election law of 1895, the passage of which had been forced through the legislature by public opinion and a Republican lower house, was supplanted by the partisan measure I am just discussing. It is because under the old law Republican judges and clerks were sure to be appointed. Why, this gave the Republicans an equal chance at the polls, therefore would never do.' ”

This is but a single instance; perhaps the reader can recall other similar cases, for elections are carried on by fraud all over the country.

Another well known case took place in Ohio. The State Legislature was to elect a Senator. A large corporation wished to place their man in office, and in order to do so, took certain members of the Legislature aside to reason with them. A special room was secured, and the smooth and oily-tongued agents of the corporation invited the legislators, one by one, to come and be reasoned with. Afterwards, when the scandal was brought up in court, some of the legislators testified that this room contained vast quantities of money. Shelves were stacked with paper and silver currency. Boxes stood around the room filled to overflowing. Tables were cov-

ered with packages, bundles and bags, until the place looked like a money vault.

However, none of these legislators admitted they received any of this money or were paid at all for their vote. But it was noticed that after the election, and the corporation had put its man in office, these different legislators seemed to be very flush with money. Some, especially, who had been very hard up; others who had mortgages on their homes; all seemed prosperous. They bought houses, paid off their mortgages and rode about in carriages. But there was no doubt in the mind of the public who paid for it.

Who has not heard of Tammany Hall, N. Y.? The number of election frauds it has perpetrated is appalling. The name has become a synonym for fraud throughout the land. To specify or enumerate its iniquities would be wearisome.

So then my defeat by fraud was only one of many, and nothing remained but to accept it. However, the bitterest thing about it all was that the whole community to a man did not rise up in indignation and take action in the matter. They were being wronged, the ballot violated and American rights and liberties trampled upon. Yet with the great mass of people it ceased to be thought of after a few weeks. Still there were quite a number who realized the enormity of the whole thing, and foresaw what such things portended. Several of the good citizens wept and one friend actually took sick, so much was he wrought

up about it. All of this, however, can do no good. The voters must rise up together and with one accord hurl iniquity from the high places. Will this ever be? Some day, perhaps. But not before this country sees terrible times. Some day the people may think, act and correct these evils, but it will be after the shoe has pinched hard—woefully hard.

I had saved some of my salary during the two terms I served at Congress, and so felt I had better take a little rest, think over the strange events of the past few years and carefully lay my plans for the future.

As time passed I was siezed with a desire to move away. Perhaps my luck would change and I might yet be useful to society in some way. Wife did not like the idea, but said she would acquiesce if I thought it for the best.

I really did think it for the best. I was born and raised in Ohio and had lived there all my life. Perhaps a change would do good. Even if I did not move very far away, to go at least into another state might be a wise move, and possibly make me contented.

The result was I determined to move my family to St. Louis. Some of my friends laughingly said I selected St. Louis to get rid of the bad company I was in and because I believed St. Louisians were saints, as the name implied.

However, St. Louis was decided upon, and we soon were ready to go. I had some friends in that city to whom I had written and who had made arrangements for me.

The change was made and before long I had a snug little home among the people with whom I had cast my lot.

I have since learned to love this city and all of its people. I live here still and expect to the rest of my days.

And yet it is like all big cities in one respect. It is in the hands of boodling rascals. I moved there just before some of the most sensational frauds that one can conceive of were perpetrated.

The thing that naturally interested me most was the spring election of 1901.

I thought I knew something about fraudulent elections, but this St. Louis election surely must have surpassed anything previously attempted in the United States. The sights witnessed by me were witnessed by hundreds of other citizens and no doubt were published in every newspaper in every town and city. Some of the things done were so flagrant and bold that citizens rubbed their eyes as though to make sure they were awake and in their right mind. And yet all of these people could testify under oath as to what they saw, though all had believed before this that such things were impossible.

But to briefly describe it. The Democrats had passed the Nesbit Law, which gave the Governor of the state power to appoint the three election commissioners who had complete control of all elections. Of course he appointed two Democrats and one Republican. These three fixed the polling places and appointed all of the judges and clerks. Further, the Governor has the appointing of

the Police Commissioners, and of course he sees to it that they are Democrats.

Thus it will be seen that the Democratic party was well equipped to carry out any plan whatever, by controlling both the Election and Police Commissioners.

Their plans were deep and cunningly laid and boldly carried out, for the black record of that day will scarcely be equalled again.

They began operations early and kept them up late. Wagon loads of hoodlums and thugs were driven about the city as repeaters. Others were marched in gangs of forty or fifty from polling place to polling place and voted again and again, using names given them on slips of paper. These ballot stuffers were called "Indians." They even referred to themselves as "Indians." To carry this joke further, a wagon load of these thugs were dressed up like Indians and driven through the heart of the city. A painted sign bore this legend, "Butler's Indians." As they rode about the city they discharged their revolvers in the air and shouted and whooped like real Red men. They were so secure in their boldness that it was fun. However, this latter wasn't the worst feature. It only showed their confidence and scorn of secrecy. The real work they did, and for which they should have been sent to the penitentiary, was the desecration of the ballot and the theft of the election. I drove about the city in a buggy during the day, following different gangs and watching different polls. There was something horrible

and morbidly fascinating in these sights, especially so to me. It made me feel as though an icy hand were clutching at my heart.

In the first place, these hoodlums and thugs looked like ex-convicts. Vice and sin were depicted on their countenances and in their every movement. And yet I thought these are only the tools. In the sight of heaven they look no blacker than the well-dressed, well-kempt rascals whose will they are executing. Out of harm's way, drinking and smoking good wine and cigars, might be found the real criminals; the real cause of this day's work.

I would not be surprised if a number of thugs had been brought from the workhouse and penitentiary, to execute this diabolical task. As they slouched along I actually saw them hold up citizens and go through their pockets. Why were they not afraid to commit these robberies in broad daylight? They knew the police were under instructions.

When they reached a poll they entered and voted under an assumed name. And this was repeated a number of times by each "Indian" before he left that poll. The name assumed was always one given them on a slip of paper, and was sometimes a legal vote of a man in that precinct. When that man came to vote he found his name had been voted. There was nothing to be done. If he telephoned the Election Commissioners he received answer that they were out. If he went down to headquarters he was told that an investigation would be made.

That was all. He might fume all day, but it would be in vain.

Sometimes the "Indians" met with difficulties. At one poll one of these fellows took a name from his hat, and, studying the slip, went up to vote. However, the judges and clerks told him that voter was dead. Going back to the leader of the gang he said, with many oaths and the vilest profanity: "Give me another name; this man is dead." It was furnished him, and he went back and voted it. The police were right there and saw the whole occurrence, but said nothing. In many cases honest voters were driven back to make room for these "Indians." The result was that in the morning many workingmen had to leave in order to get to work in time and come back in the evening to vote. But the evening was too late. During the day their names were fraudulently voted.

In another polling place a ballot stuffer presented a name to vote on. The judge said, "Why, that is my name; you can't vote on that." The repeater said it was a lie and insisted on voting the name. A fight ensued, in which all of the judges and clerks were driven into the street. The "Indians" then took charge of the poll and the books. It is needless to say that precinct went Democratic by a large majority.

In every case they were upheld by the police. In many instances the police clubbed and drove back honest voters.

In some precincts it was known that, with scarcely any exception, the voters were all Republican. They worked

a different game here. Early in the morning a fight was started, the judges, the clerks and challengers would all be arrested and the poll closed up by the police. Appeals to the Commissioners were in vain. The polls were kept closed until late in the afternoon. Then they were opened. The Democrats and ballot stuffers were admitted first, and, there being an immense crowd, only a limited number could be admitted before closing time.

The police were under instructions and had to do as they were told or lose their positions. They in many cases deplored the injustice of it all, but knew they had to obey. It is well known that every police officer on the force must belong to the Jefferson Club or lose his position. This Jefferson Club bids fair to become as strong and notorious as Tammany Hall, New York.

I wish the reader to understand that I do not pick out the Democrats to score and expose alone. Later I will show the Republicans up just as bad. I only aim to tell the truth, and go directly to the bottom in order to find why such things exist.

And why is it? Why is the popular will defeated? Why these fraudulent elections? Simply because Plutocracy wishes to place its tools in office. Simply to have its servants in position and power to do its will, and where they can make laws at their master's bidding.

After fraudulent elections place the tools of the corporations in power, is it reasonable to hope they will legislate for the public good? It is absurd to expect such a

thing. One might as well expect to gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles. This condition of affairs prevails in every large city, in every state and in the national legislative hall of this country.

Here then we have one more factor at work, and the result will be to hasten the Revolution. It is true the people might get together and in one or two elections place their own representatives in power. But it is too much to hope this will be done before the great disaster comes, because Plutocracy is careful to see that the people are always divided on some side issue, and if they can keep them divided they can keep themselves in power.

But the public is getting indignant and restless. Those thoroughly awake are arousing others. The alarm is spreading. The public, while long suffering and unnecessarily slow to take action against any wrong, is also unnecessarily severe when it does begin to act. Already the strain is telling. Something will have to give way. Is your ear to the ground? Do you hear the snapping, and rumbling, as the foundations of this Republic are being undermined?

But the clash between the people and Plutocracy: This will be reserved for future consideration.

CHAPTER V.

CORRUPTION, BRIBERY AND PERJURY.

Crimes of Public Servants; Their Brazen Effrontery and Contempt of All Oaths and Obligations.

..We have all listened to the honeyed promises of candidates before election, and been deceived again and again by their pledges. Our representatives are paragons of virtue and honor before election; but after, such are few and far between.

Upon the strength of their promises we place them in office; first one kind, then another. They are all alike. But we don't learn. When in office the people are usually forgotten, and only selfish interests promoted. Very often the erstwhile virtuous politician does worse than promote his selfish interests. He becomes corrupt and criminal, ready to accept bribes and sell legislation with as little compunction as though it were a commodity for that very purpose. Yes, and many cases have been known, where politicians have gone into politics with that avowed purpose in view, spending ten times as much as their years' salary to secure the office, knowing that more than that sum can be made back by the sale of their influence and votes.

In Toledo, recently, the grand jury disclosed a frightful state of affairs. City and railroad officials were found guilty of corruption and bribery. The City Attorney, the Assistant Street Commissioner, the Secretary of the Board of Revision and others were indicted.

Not many years since similar disclosures were made in Detroit, Mich.

Gov. Hazen S. Pingree addressed the Nineteenth Century Club, of New York, on the subject "Ten Years of Municipal Progress." Among other things he said:

"Detroit was long ruled by the politicians until at length the leaders grew reckless. Streets were given away to car companies, to gas companies and other corporations. You could not drive without paying toll. The city was half-lighted and at exorbitant rates. What little paving there was cost twice as much as it was worth. The paving ring was powerful. Sewers built had no outlet. There were long tracks of unoccupied land in the middle of the city held by men for speculation. The cars drawn by horses were unhealthy and uncomfortable. Parks were given away for buildings.

"In eight years all this has been remedied, and today Detroit is one of the most beautiful cities of the United States.

"I was elected by the most influential people of the city. Directly after I was elected I discovered that the railroads were paying less than their lawful taxes. I said so, and the railroad support was lost to me. I found the

gas companies charging exorbitant rates and I said so, thus losing their support. I found bankers speculating with the city funds. I denounced them, and they said I was unsafe. I attacked the surface railroads, and they called me an anarchist. I was four times elected Mayor. I lost a lot of old friends, but I was elected by a larger majority each time. It is something to be proud of when the influential classes turn their backs on me and the common people stand by me. I have come to lean on the common people. They are the real foundation of good government."

Chicago, New York, Philadelphia—all the large cities have had similar experiences.

The following editorial appeared in the St. Joseph News:

THE INEVITABLE RESULT.

(Editorial in St. Joseph News, Feb. 17, 1902.)

"In the course of a libel suit in the courts of Pennsylvania last week a legislative reporter, called as a witness of the unlawful practices charged against the prosecutor, gave some evidence that ought to prove startling enough to call a halt on the methods of political bosses everywhere. The following statement on the witness stand is quoted:

"Many times marked roll calls were handed to me before roll call was made and often I recorded the names of members as voting who I knew at the time were not pres-

ent. I knew it was not right, but I could not help it. I had to do as I was told or get out.'

"Can any more daring abuse of the power of the boss be conceived than this? The official reporter testifies under oath, that not once or twice, but 'many times,' the roll call of the state legislature was a mere formality. The measure determined upon by the boss was declared passed by the speaker selected by the boss, and the names of men who had not even been consulted as to their sentiments were recorded as voting for the biggest steals ever engineered through any state legislature. It was in this way that the ripper bill was passed. It was by this same method that the street railway franchise bills giving away franchises worth millions of dollars, in return for the two millions advanced by the boss's adherents to secure his last election to the Legislature, were passed. There was no pretense at public decency, not even any pretense at allowing to the legislators a voice in the matter. They were merely regarded as so many pawns in the game whose names were to be recorded as voting for the selected measures, no matter whether they were present or absent.

"Perhaps in no other state has political corruption reached this low level of unblushing fraud. And yet this is but one step beyond the practices that are common in Missouri and many other states. Moreover just such a state of affairs is the inevitable result of allowing bosses to control the votes of legislators. In Missouri the cor-

porations and political contractors pay money into the campaign fund so called, and when the legislators reach Jefferson City they are told by the political bosses just what bills they may vote for and what bills they must oppose. The individual judgment of the legislator counts for little. But he is still at liberty to cast his vote with his own voice, and so preserve at least the form of individual judgment. They used to do things in the same way in Pennsylvania and the present outrageous fraud is the direct outgrowth of that system.

"The United States is in no danger from without, no power on earth and no combination of powers ever likely to be brought together could overthrow us. But within our own government, and especially in our legislative halls, are the seeds of our own undoing. Such civic crimes as those of which the last Pennsylvania legislature was guilty are bound to bring their own punishment, and every other state that is submitting to the rule of any one boss or set of bosses is making itself a plague spot for the dissemination of corruption. The American people are strong enough and intelligent enough to end these evils if they will. But the longer it is delayed the more difficult will the undertaking be. Let other states take warning from the fate of poor old Pennsylvania, wearing the collar of Quay, and end the corrupt rule of bosses before it reaches the stage of making laws without even the consent of the legislators."

In the summer of 1897 one of the biggest frauds in

municipal history was attempted in St. Louis. A number of capitalists wished to buy all the street railways in the city, form a trust, and operate them under one head. To consummate this scheme a bill was introduced into the Municipal Assembly, known as the North and South bill.

This failed to pass for the simple reason that not enough money was put up to pass it. It was only a feeler. However, it appeared again with a different name, and backed by a more determined effort and more cash. We quote the Post-Dispatch, which published all the facts at the time:

(From the Post-Dispatch of April 18, 1898.)

"The Post-Dispatch herewith presents facts concerning the manner in which the Central Traction bill was passed over the mayor's veto. The facts are such as warrant immediate investigation by the grand jury, and the attention of that body is called to what follows.

"The history of the Central Traction bill is a sequel to that of the old North and South bill. The scandal contained in that measure was fully revealed by the Post-Dispatch last summer.

"At that time the men behind the North and South bill were not as influential or possessed of as much wealth as these who manipulated the second scheme—the Central Traction bill.

"The North and South bill was introduced as a feeler. Such lobbying as was done in its behalf was conducted by John Hermon. No money was paid for votes, so far as

could be found. There were frequent champagne suppers, distribution of cigars, etc. This 'jollyng' was not enough for the members of the House of Delegates and the Council, which accounts for the measure not passing over the mayor's veto.

"Now comes the introduction of the Central Traction bill, having behind it, as stated above, men of great influence. The Post-Dispatch knows that those men whose names have been printed as being at the head of the Central Traction bill, only have a minor interest. The Post-Dispatch knows who the true promoters are, and when the facts are revealed, St. Louisans will be astonished to ascertain who really have seized control of this city. This information is another story and will be given when this question of bribery has been disposed of.

"When the Central Traction bill came up first it was easily passed. It was then vetoed by Mayor Ziegenhein. After that the promoters settled down to earnest, hard work in order to carry the measure over the mayor's veto. In order to be sure of a sufficient majority in the House of Delegates to influence the Council—of which they were afraid—they decided on securing 25 votes in the House of Delegates, and did so.

"Last Tuesday night the House of Delegates met to pass the measure over the Mayor's veto. Prior to the meeting, a caucus of sufficient strength was held. A member of the House of Delegates, whose name is known by the Post-Dispatch, had in his pocket when he entered the

caucus seventy-five \$1000 bills. When the caucus adjourned this member had but fifty \$1000 bills left. The Delegates then went into session and the bill was passed. Twenty-five men voted for it. Their names are:

"House—Joseph L. Schuler, W. H. Judy, Henry Wander, John P. Sweeny, Adolph Madera, Otto Schumacher, J. P. Hirth, Edmund Bersch, Emil Hartmann, Henry Hennig, Charles A. Gutke, John Helms, Louis Becker, John J. Burke, John A. King, Henry L. Weeks, Jr., Julius Lehmann, John J. Wilmore, William H. Ritter, E. E. Murrell, John H. Debrodt, George D. Schaefer, C. W. Watson, George F. Robertson, Henry B. Wittenberg.

"The following did not vote for the iniquitous measure: F. C. Pauley, Harry C. Coudrey, Hiram Lloyd.

"After the House of Delegates adjourned, the second caucus was held. All who had been in the first caucus were there with the exception of two—Messrs. Schuler and Lehmann. When this caucus was ended, the boodle middleman had no more \$1000 bills in his possession; or, if he had, he only had six \$1000 bills, which he intended for men who did not come to the caucus.

"A similar deal was made in the council. The quotation of votes of councilmen was talked of around the City Hall as much as brokers talk of the rise and fall in wheat, or gas, or tobacco stock. Just how much was paid is not known. The lowest price was \$3000 and the highest was \$10,000.

"At this time it is of interest to relate a scene which was akin to tragedy in the council chambers.

"When it came to the turn of the Council to pass the bill over the mayor's veto the members of the House of Delegates filed in to watch. They were there to see that there was no backsliding and to give such 'moral' encouragement as was in their power.

"The name of Mr. Uthoff is the last on the roll of the Council. The President of the Council votes after the members have cast their ballots. In order to pass the bill over the Mayor's veto, one vote was necessary. Either Mr. Uthoff or President Meier could have cast that vote. Both were on record as being against the bill. Mr. Uthoff had solemnly pledged Mayor Zeigenhein that he would oppose the measure. The promoters had reason to believe that Uthoff would vote in favor of the bill. But Uthoff was not to be trusted. He had dealt double before. The promoters feared him.

"Now for tragic scene.

"When it came Uthoff's turn to vote, the silence in the chamber was such that heart beats could almost be heard. Uthoff hesitated a moment. President Meier turned white as a sheet. He bowed his head. Every muscle and nerve seemed to be in a tension. Uthoff coughed to clear his throat. Then in a low tone he gave the word that cast his vote for the steal. President Meier's face turned from white to red. He looked up in triumph. His features were indicative of great relief and joy.

"Judge Zachritz, who impaneled the May term grand jury of 1898, in instructing the body to take up and investigate these charges, said in part:

JUDGE ZACHRITZ' CHARGES.

(From the Post-Dispatch of April 25, 1898.)

"Judge Zachritz, Monday morning, charged the grand jury as follows:

"It has been charged by said paper that members of the House of Delegates and of the City Council have been guilty of bribery and the charge involves not only one or two members of the Municipal Assembly as now constituted. A charge of this kind necessarily requires prompt action of some kind at the hands of the authorities whose duty it is to suppress crime * * * But not until now has a specific charge been made, and the time has come, gentlemen, and I speak advisedly, and in calm judgment when in my opinion determined action must be taken by a grandjury and the prosecuting officers of the judicial circuit for the purpose of ending, once for all, this unfortunate condition.

"The issue, in my opinion, is clear cut. Either the allegation of bribery against said officials is true and can be substantiated by legal and competent testimony, as averred by said paper, or such publication is entirely without foundation in law or fact, and is made through motives other than those which tend to subserve the public good, and made designedly for some ulterior purpose, and in that event those who hold out such a charge to the

public are, in my judgment, guilty of one of the most damnable crimes known to the law, viz., criminal libel.

* * *

"In conclusion, gentlemen, the court indulges the hope that however unpleasant and laborious the work may be that necessarily will be entailed upon you by reason of this specific charge, the fruits of the same will be such that for a long time to come this community may rest secure in the assurance that on the one hand no temptation, however great, will be sufficient to induce public officials to become unmindful of their obligations toward the community and the government whose laws they have sworn to obey, and, on the other hand, every citizen, whether in official life or not, may be secure in his possession of a good name and character against all unjust assaults made either by the individual or by the press."

NO INDICTMENTS.

"The May term grandjury adjourned May 18, having returned no indictments in the Central Traction case, after an investigation covering a period of almost thirty days. This grandjury was composed of the following gentlemen.

"BRUCE C. ALVORD, foreman, secretary Schultz Belting Co.

"GEORGE L. ALLEN, president Fulton Iron Works.

"CHARLES R. BLAKE, clerk Simmons Hardware Co.

"AUGUST BRAUER, stove repairs.

"MONROE R. COLLINS, JR., real estate.

"ARTHUR A. EDDY, grocers' sundries.

"WILLIAM H. ETTER, 900 Washington avenue.

"ROBERT D. MARKHAM, insurance.

"SAM M. PIPER, secretary St. Louis Coffin Co.

"JOHN P. SMITH, business not stated.

"GEORGE DAUSMAN, real estate.

"CHARLES D. SMILEY, 3838 Westminster Place.

"The Circuit Attorney, at that time, who had the direction of the grandjury investigations, was Theodore C. Eggers; his assistant was Samuel D. Hodgdon."

However, nothing at all was done in the matter. For four years the thing rested, as no grandjury took up the case. But the public were well aware of the corrupt methods of the Central Traction bill, and it was well known that the State Legislature had passed a bill to incorporate the company, and that this bill had been signed by the Governor. And yet the matter rested.

Four years later, January, 1902, a grandjury investigated every phase of the scandal, and the report of the succeeding body corroborated the charges made by the newspapers four years back. But it was too late. The statute of limitation barred all prosecution of the offenders, with one exception—Robt. M. Snyder of Kansas City, whom it was claimed was not subject to the statute, because he had been a resident of New York since that time.

We quote the Post-Dispatch again:

FEBRUARY INDICTMENTS.

"The February grandjury of 1902 indicted Robert M.

Snyder in the Central Traction case. It is held by Circuit Attorney Folk that Mr. Snyder has maintained his place of residence outside of Missouri for a long enough period to make the statute of limitations inoperative in his case.

"Mr. Snyder is a capitalist who now lives in New York. When the offense alleged in the indictment is said to have been committed Snyder lived in Kansas City. The date of the alleged offense is 'on or about March 22, 1898.' At that time Council bill No. 451, otherwise known as the Central Traction bill, was pending.

"It is alleged that Snyder negotiated with and paid Frederick G. Utthoff, then a member of the Council, \$50,000 to procure the vote and support of that official for the measure.

"Judge Ryan will try the Snyder case. It has not yet been set.

"Commenting on the Central Traction bill, the April grandjury said:

"'Convincing documentary evidence was unearthed proving that the sum of \$145,000 was placed in escrow in a bank in this city to be paid to the members of the Municipal Assembly of St. Louis upon the passage of a valuable franchise ordinance.

"'This ordinance failed and a second bill was introduced, upon the passage of which the sum of about \$250,000 was distributed among its members.

"'After the passage of this ordinance the franchise was

sold for \$1,250,000. The city realized nothing whatever for this franchise.

RESULT DISAPPOINTING.

"We regret that the grandjury of three years ago, which made a fruitless investigation of the municipal scandal, was unable to secure the evidence which we found so readily and which could have been more easily obtained at that time.

"We cannot but believe that if the officers whose duty it was at that time to prepare and present matters of this kind to the indicting body had discharged their duty faithfully and vigorously the result would have been different.

"No city,' continued the April body, 'has been so completely at the mercy of faithless public servants. No municipal corporation has ever had its most valuable franchises so recklessly and scandalously disposed of for a consideration which found its way not to the city treasury, but into the itching palms of public pilferers.'"

The Central Traction franchise was sold to the Transit Co. for \$1,250,000.00.

The Transit Co., born, as it were, in iniquity, corruption and crime, at once started out upon a most vicious and appalling career. To cut down expenses cars were taken off and the speed increased. Accidents became numerous and frightful. Scores were killed and hundreds maimed for life. In a short time they began to break up the Union of the conductors and motormen. The long bloody strike mentioned later took place.

"Every line but the Suburban was owned by the Transit Co. The public used this line whenever it was possible, and gave it moral support and favor in every way. It was popular, but the Transit Co. was hated.

But this popularity collapsed, when the Suburban Road was caught red handed in a villainous piece of bribery. I quote the Post-Dispatch again:

THE SUBURBAN DEAL.

"The Suburban franchise deal, though on a smaller scale financially, involved more prominent influences to father its passage than any ordinance ever presented for consideration.

"The Suburban Railroad Co., according to the testimony of Charles H. Turner given at the Meysenburg trial, employed a legislative agent to see that \$135,000 was paid for the valuable franchise privileges asked.

"'Phillip Stock was our (meaning the Suburban Railway Co.) legislative agent,' testified Turner.

"Stock, who is the secretary of the St. Louis brewing Co., and accounted wealthy, acknowledged the title on the witness stand.

"The story of the disgraceful municipal chapter is fresh in the public mind.

"Information reached Circuit Attorney Folk that a sum of money had been placed in safety deposit vaults at the Mississippi Valley and Lincoln Trust companies for distribution among members of the Municipal Assembly.

"One key, it was said, had been held by John G. Brink-

meyer, representing Charles Kratz; another was in the possession of John K. Murrell, while a third was held by Stock. of the Suburban company.

FOUND THE \$130,000.

In company with Circuit Attorney Folk, Foreman Lee and two other members of the grandjury visited the trust companies.

"In the deposit boxes they found \$135,000, and, with this confirmation of the report that the Suburban Railroad Co. had placed that amount there for distribution among the members of the assembly in case the bill passed, the grandjury and Mr. Folk proceeded to probe the matter to the bottom.

"Acting on the advice of attorneys, President Charles H. Turner of the Suburban Railway Co., and Philip Stock, his 'legislative agent,' appeared before the grandjury and related the details of the entire transaction.

"They stated that the money was placed there in accordance with an arrangement made by which the company was to have one key to the boxes and Councilman Kratz and Delegate Murrell the other key to one of the boxes each, the money to remain there until the bill was passed.

"The bill passed the Council, but was stopped by injunction proceedings in the House of Delegates. The company then refused to surrender their keys to the boxes and it was the continued demands of the representatives

of the Assembly that brought the knowledge of the fund's existence to Mr. Folk's ears.

THREE INDICTMENTS.

"Within a week after the grandjury took up the investigation of the affair it returned indictments against Murrell, Kratz and Emil A. Meysenburg, another former member of the Council. Meysenburg was a member of the railroad committee which reported the bill favorably. Kratz was one of the councilmen who voted for the bill's passage. Murrell, as a member of the House, had no opportunity to vote on the bill.

"The bench warrants were served on Murrell, Kratz and Meysenburg Monday, January 27.

"Each of these men was indicted for bribery. Bribery indictments were also found within the next few days against Ellis Wainwright and Henry Nicolaus, and perjury indictments against Julius Lehmann and Harry A. Faulkner.

"Wainwright and Nicolaus are directors of the Suburban Railroad. Their indictment resulted from testimony before the grandjury that they jointly, with President Turner, signed the note for \$135,000 on which the money deposited in the boxes was secured from a St. Louis bank.

"Wainwright was in Egypt at the time and has not since returned. Nicolaus, who is a brewery proprietor, admitted signing the note, but declared his ignorance of the purpose for which it was to be used.

"Faulkner is a member of the present House of Delegates and Lehmann a former member. They were indicted because they told the grandjury they know nothing about the existence of this \$135,000 fund, after the grandjury believed, from other evidence, that they did know about it.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUED.

"W. H. Lee was foreman of this grandjury, which made its report to Judge Horatio D. Wood February 2. It recommended further investigation into municipal corruption. The February grandjury, impaneled a few days later, was specially charged by Judge O'Neill Ryan, who succeeded Judge Wood in charge of one of the criminal divisions of the Circuit Court, to pursue this line of investigation. William B. Dean was chosen foreman.

"The first indictments resulted from investigations of the Suburban bill introduced in the Council in October, 1900, and passed by the Council February 8, 1901."

The public and the press clamored for further investigation. The grandjury kept up the good work, and indicted no less than fifteen men for bribery and corruption. I quote the Post-Dispatch again:

BUTLER INDICTED.

"Ed Butler was indicted by this grandjury a few days later on a charge of attempted bribery. His indictment resulted from investigations into the passage of the 'garbage bill' by the present Assembly. It was charged against Butler that he offered Dr. H. N. Chapman of the board

of health a 'present' of \$2500 and that he also attempted to stuff money inside the doctor's vest. It was further alleged that Butler had offered Dr. Albert Merrell, the other medical member of the board of health, a similar 'present.'

"This evidence was presented to the public by the Post-Dispatch on February 16 in an interview with Dr. Chapman, in which the doctor said Butler had offered him \$2500 as a 'present.' Dr. Chapman declined the offer.

"Butler had been a power in St. Louis politics for 30 years. He claimed to be the boss of the local Democracy. His claim was frequently attested at elections.

"He scoffed at the idea that anybody could or would connect him with bribery, and he boasted that he delivered the 'goods' to corporations for fees.

"In an interview with the Post-Dispatch January 28 he said among other things:

"Two years ago the Suburban officials asked me if I couldn't help the Suburban road get through the bill for a franchise extending its tracks over a large part of the city that it does not reach. I said I thought I could.

BUTLER'S TERMS ACCEPTED.

" "What will it cost?" he asked.

" "It will take \$145,000," I told him.

"There were several talks about the matter. Some of the Suburban people thought \$100,000 was enough, but finally my terms were accepted.

" 'I was to have had a certain fee even if I had failed to

pass the bill. What that was I will not say now, as the entire matter was taken out of my hands, but the figures were unlucky.

"I agreed for a fee of \$145,000 to pass the bill. And there would not have been any safe deposit box to take care of the money if I had handled the matter.

"I don't do business that way.

"I get the fee, and in 60 days the legislation wanted is delivered."

"John H. Becker, holding the position of city factory inspector, was indicted on the charge of attempted bribery. The indictment accused him of attempting to influence by means of money the jury commissioner to place a certain name on the jury list in the Kratz case."

The sensational lighting scandal, which resulted in Mr. Kelly fleeing to Europe, is still fresh in the public mind. The newspapers have published broadcast the startling facts in this case, and it has attracted attention all over the country. The accounts read like some of the tales of Robin Hood or the Arabian Nights. Like the forty thieves, the majority of the members of the House of Delegates had combined. Their purpose was to block every bill unless paid a certain bribe. This "combine" held regular meetings and actually conducted them according to parliamentary rules.

It worked well; every bill was held up until they received their price.

They permitted the city to be plunged into darkness

while holding up a certain lighting bill. The citizens became indignant and held mass meetings. They marched in a body to the City Hall, and demanded that this bill be passed and the city lighted. In their indignation and rage many threats of lynching were made. Yet in spite of all this the Combine waited until they were ready before passing the bill.

And when was that?

Not until they were paid \$47,500.00 in bribes. There were nineteen members in the Combine and each one received \$2,500.00. This was distributed one night at what was called a birthday party. Afterwards, when Circuit Attorney Folk began the boodle investigations, it was found that Kelly had brought the money to be distributed, and that he alone knew the bribe-givers. When Mr. Folk sought to lay hands upon him, he fled to Europe and only returned after the time had expired during which he might be prosecuted according to law.

The grandjury which brought most of the indictments made the following report in regard to the House of Delegates:

"We have had before us many of those who have been, and most of those who are now, members of the House of Delegates. We regret to report that we found a number of these utterly illiterate and lacking in ordinary intelligence, unable to give a better reason for favoring or opposing a measure than a desire to act with the majority. In some no trace of mentality or morality could be found;



The birthday party at which \$47,500.00 was divided among the members of the House of Delegates "Combine" at St. Louis.



in others a low order of training appeared, united with base, cunning, groveling instincts and sordid desires. Unqualified to respond to the ordinary requirements of life, they are utterly incapable of comprehending the significance of an ordinance, and are incapacitated both by nature and by training to be the makers of laws. The choosing of such men to be legislators makes a travesty of justice, sets a premium on incompetency and deliberately poisons the very source of law."—Report of St. Louis Grandjury.

Is not the drift and tendency of affairs plainly apparent? Is it not clear that legislation of the people, by the people and for the people is a thing of the past?

"As long as legislators can make more profit by serving monopolies than by serving the people it may be expected that monopolies will be served."

And as long as the people permit it, monopolies will continue to be served.

Here then is found another agency at work to bring on the Revolution. Only one of many, yet a very powerful one in itself, and of the most vital importance. It has not honeycombed national legislation quite as much as municipal, but it will. When it does, the end is near. The people will then lay the ax to the root of the tree.

CHAPTER VI.

TRADES UNIONS.

Their History, Power and Possibilities—Why They Are at War With Capital and What Will Be the Issue.

I had long since made up my mind to study the social and industrial problem in all its branches, and to get to the bottom if possible and know the truth. I learned that there were many aspects to the problem, but determined to investigate each phase closely.

Naturally, I cast about to see if there was any force at work to meet and do battle with the forces of Plutocracy.

Trades Unionism made this profession and I immediately started my researches. Furthermore, Gladstone once said, "Trades unions are the bulwarks of modern society," and my mind was certainly unbiased and open to conviction.

"Some very trustworthy and efficient men are interested in the cause of Trades Unionism; one, a St. Louis man, has a national reputation for his honesty and fidelity to the cause he has espoused.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch discusses him as follows:

"Mr. John T. Wilson, President of the Brotherhood of

Railway Trackmen of America, and generally considered by his friends the most effective, honest and conscientious labor organizer in the country, has turned down an offer of a bonus of \$25,000, and an executive position with a railroad company at an annual salary of \$5,000.

"The remarkable circumstance about the proposition is that it was made to Mr. Wilson by a railroad company whose striking trackmen were led to victory by the president of their organization.

"The wonderful executive ability displayed by Mr. Wilson, while handling the interests of the striking maintenance-of-way men, his fairness, honesty and indomitable pluck and perseverance, so impressed the management of the railroad company that an outright offer of the handsome bonus and permanent position was made to him.

"But the ambition of Mr. Wilson's life is to elevate the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America to such a position of influence that it can command the respect the laboring men deserve, and he spurned the offer and returned to his desk in the Benoist building, to preside over the destinies of the organization he founded fifteen years ago at Talladega, Ala.

MEN SHOULD STRIKE ONLY WHEN FORCED.

"Mr. Wilson may have looked upon the offer as a bait to draw him away from the work to which he is devoting the best energies of his life. In fact, it is said that tempting propositions are frequently thrown in his way, in the hope of influencing him to abandon his work.

"Through the instrumentality of the work of his organization the railway trackmen of America will receive \$2,000,000 more in salaries during the present year than they would had not the organization been in existence.

"Mr. Wilson does not believe in strikes, except when the men are forced into them. He is an advocate of the arbitration of labor disputes, but when he does take up a fight he goes in to win.

Last summer the maintenance-of-way men of the Canadian Pacific Railway, one of the greatest and strongest financed railroads in existence, struck for an increase of wages. Mr. Wilson was called from St. Louis to Canada to handle the strike, which he did with such consummate skill that the men were conceded practically all of their demands.

COST CANADIAN PACIFIC \$250,000 MORE ANNUALLY.

"Mr. Wilson's fight against the Canadian Pacific Railway cost that corporation \$250,000 annually in increased wages to its trackmen."

But now the labor unions are going into politics. They realize that they have a powerful vote and that by acting together may secure anything they wish.

The New York Journal, which is the most widely read newspaper in the country, says that labor can elect their own men to rule the country whenever they want to. They have the power to do it now.

The Western Labor Union, in its recent session in Den-

ver, put itself on record in favor of independent political action. At time of going to press no definite action had been taken, but here follows the opening declaration of one of the most prominent men in the Western labor world: Daniel McDonald, President of the Western Labor Union: "The wage system must go. I am in favor of the convention declaring for independent political action. It is time for the workingmen to assert themselves. They hold in their hands the political power of the country. They must learn to use it."

Labor contends that but a very small per cent of legislation is ever enacted in its behalf. That it is called upon to vote and parade at election time, but that is all the good it ever gets out of it. Petitions and requests avail but little. I quote an article in *Equality*:

"Labor stands pleading at the doors of the Legislature, each succeeding session, for relief from its thousand and one ills. It asks that the so-called labor laws heretofore enacted and that have proven to be unconstitutional, impracticable or worse than the laws they superseded, be taken up and so amended as to give them force and effect for good purposes.

"It pleads that the measures it presents shall not be handed over to machine-made committees in the Senate and House, to be either throttled therein, or have all the life and spirit taken out of them, so that they are not, as passed, worth to labor the paper on which they are written. It pleads that committees shall be no longer made

up to suit the monopolies of the State, to recommend bills the monopolies want and negative those to which the monopolies object, and generally to exploit the monopolies for money to run machine campaigns.

"It asks no special favors, but wants the right to live and make a living by honest and fairly-paid work, and that the leaders in the law-making shall give some heed to the fact that, when labor is not prospering, the State cannot prosper. The producer is also the consumer, and when his ability to buy is cut off by selfish monopolies, created and fostered by machine legislatures and executives, all classes must suffer.

"It pleads that when departments and bureaus are created ostensibly for its benefit they shall be officered by clean and capable men who will do their duty faithfully and fearlessly and not, as too often happens, to machine heelers who recognize no allegiance but to the machine.

"Finally, it pleads for a Governor who has not and never had connection with monopolies of any kind, who has never served any form of corporations, who is a plain man, in full sympathy with the plain people, utterly untrammelled and prepared for anything that will uplift the people and progress the State.

"With such a man as the chief executive and a Legislature against the machine, labor's pleas will be heeded and its causes of complaint will disappear."

Certainly the Labor Unions have a right to go into politics and fight their own battles, for if they don't nobody

will fight for them. And that there are enemies to labor none can doubt. There are corporations that continually wage war against organized labor and seek to reduce their wages and break up their unions.

A news dispatch says that the big Montana lumber companies have formed an organization for the avowed purpose of fighting union labor.

I quote the Appeal to Reason:

"Representative Schofield, while opposing a referendum bill in the Massachusetts Legislature the other day, made this remark: 'WE MUST PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THE 80,000 PEOPLE ORGANIZED IN THE TRADES UNIONS.' And every Congressman who opposes the referendum is opposed to it on the ground that he does not want to run the risk of losing his power in making laws. Congressmen who believe in a government of the people will support the principles of Direct Legislation. And those who are opposed to the Majority Rule should not be returned to the halls of Congress. If you want to have a people's country, take this matter up and let the opponent of Direct Legislation stay at home, while you put some one in his place who will do your bidding."

"'The Corporation Auxiliary Co.,' Chamber of Commerce Building, Cleveland, Ohio, is a corporation that advertises to spy on workmen in the shops of large employers of labor, to keep the employer posted on the actions of the men regarding unions, Socialism and other subjects.

Think of that! ye workingmen. When will you use your votes to make yourselves free from your masters? How much oppression will it require to wake you up? Under what degrading conditions must you sink before you will assert your manhood?"

Without any doubt, then, we have a strong force at work antagonizing Plutocracy. It is useless to try to say the interests of labor and capital are identical. They are opposed.

This country points with pride to the fact that it has gained control of the markets of the world; that its most formidable commercial rival, England, has been outstripped in the race, and that henceforth the world's leader in manufactures, commerce, etc., will be the United States.

We also say, with great pride, that the cause of our commercial supremacy is greater intelligence, enterprise and energy, coupled with better machinery, inventions and skilled labor, than any country in the world.

This all seems grand and inspiring, yet all is not found to be so calm and serene upon close inspection.

There is intense strife between capital and labor. Disagreeable as the thought may seem, such are the facts. As time passes the breach grows wider, until in some sections the two are at daggers' points. One need but read the daily papers to be convinced of this. Capital tells its story; Labor does the same. But for every time Labor has

been unfair to Capital, Capital has ten wrongs charged to it.

I quote the Chicago Record-Herald:

"DEATH IN CHICAGO WORKSHOPS.

"Womanhood on the Altar of Greed—Future Mothers Poisoned with Deadly Drugs—Insane Desire for Dividends and Lax Enforcement of Labor Law Responsible.

(M. J. Deutsch in Chicago Record-Herald.)

"In Chicago's army of wage-workers there are about 50,000 who are engaged in duties which require them to face death constantly in some form. This may seem like a strong assertion, but it is true nevertheless. Thousands are working each day piling up misery for themselves, even if they are not ultimately sent to their last accounts by the very nature of their employments. I believe my estimate to be conservative.

"To illustrate the fact that this number of wage-workers face the reaper at the lathe, in the workshop and in the factory, let me give a number of instances which come under daily observations. The greatest injury is done to women and children in many of the occupations in which they obtain employment.

"Women and children, on account of their physical construction, are less able to bear sustained muscular exertion than men. They, too, are more susceptible to the poisons that are used in many of the arts and manufac-

tures at which they are employed. Among the brass workers in Chicago, such as metal polishing, buffing and plating, and more especially the plumbing supply concerns, hundreds of girls are employed at wages ranging from \$3 to \$8 per week, for which a craftsman would receive not less than twenty-five cents per hour. There is another danger far more injurious to the women and children than working for less than half the wages a man would receive for the same work, and that is the constant inhaling of the dust from the copper and brass, which in a short time POISONS THE WHOLE SYSTEM AND PHYSICALLY RUINS THEM FOR LIFE.

"So long as these deplorable conditions are permitted to continue there is no use for a young man to learn that trade. If he does and becomes a journeyman all he can do is to work for the paltry sum paid women and children or walk the streets. The Legislature of this State has enacted a law known as the 'blower law,' which provides that factories and workshops shall supply revolving wheels to collect the dust arising and carry it out of the shop. This law is not enforced by the factory inspectors to any great extent today.

CHILD PRISONS.

"The picture frame factories of Chicago should be called children's prisons, as that name would be more appropriate than factory. Chicago manufactures more picture frames than any other city in the world, but the deplorable conditions existing in these factories cannot be

described in words. The public should see the little victims as they emerge from the factories, the mottoes of which seem to be: 'HUSTLE LITTLE CHILDREN UNTO US AND WE WILL WORK THE LIFE OUT OF YOU.' And they are doing it, too. Children by the hundreds, ranging in age from twelve to sixteen years, work in these factories for ten hours a day for thirty to fifty cents per day.

"If one wishes to see a sight that will make him feel that humanity, or at least a portion of it, is totally depraved, let him stand in the vicinity of one of these picture frame factories at the quitting hour. Here he can witness scenes which will make him shudder. Filing out of the doors and gates are hundreds of young boys, who, if they live, are to take their places as voters in this country; little fellows still in short pants, with their clothes covered with gold dust, paint, varnish, shellac and other materials used in the manufacture of picture frames; boys whose faces are drawn and pinched from overwork, whose bodies have become prematurely old; little children whose eyes should shine as the noonday sun, but the luster and cheer has gone out of them; children whose step should be quick and elastic are as dull as night—all because of the greed of an avaricious employer.

"Stop any of these children and ask them their ages; parrot-like they lisp 'I'm fourteen.' In twenty per cent of cases this is all the English they speak. Fourteen is the factory age in Illinois, and while these children are taught

in their homes that it is necessary for them to work or starve, like a lamb led to slaughter they submit, and even seem glad of the opportunity to work.

"Glass polishing, an industry carried on in Chicago to a great extent, is dangerous to the health of the workmen in that the powder with which the edges of glass are treated contains 60 to 70 per cent of oxide of lead. In file cutting the operators are constantly subjected to the slow and steady growth of industrial disease.

"It is sufficient here to state that the risks inseparable from these two occupations are greatly augmented by the evil conditions under which the trades are conducted, and which can be remedied only by a thorough organization of the men and the proper enforcement of the State factory laws. Cleanliness, proper ventilation, sanitary conditions and reasonable hours of labor, with all that is entailed and understood by these simple sounding remedies, would revolutionize the health statistics of all the above-mentioned trades and callings.

"Women employed as makers of feather ornaments suffer greatly. Both the lungs and the eyes suffer from the fine particles of feathers and feather dust, and inflammation and consumption follow as certainly as night follows day. **THREE YEARS IN THE LENGTH OF TIME A WOMAN IS ABLE TO WORK AT THIS TRADE.** The health of artificial flower makers is endangered on account of the poisons used in colors. **PARALYSIS IS THEIR FATE, AND IT LASTS LONG**

AFTER THE WORK HAS BEEN ABANDONED, AND IS MORE TIMES THAN NOT INCURABLE.

"[These are the future mothers of the working class. Made unhealthy by a system that forces them to do work that ought to be done by machines. Poisoned until they are filled with disease, their nervous system shattered, their whole life being ruined by an inhuman method of extracting wealth out of the toil and hardships of the future mothers of the race.]

AND THIS IS HELL.

"Chicago has several thousand metal polishers. Laws have been passed for their protection, yet no complete cure of the many evils endangering their health is possible until a change is made in the methods employed in the work. A couple of thousand more operate emery wheels, polishing tools, metals and decorating glass. Emery dust and acids combined work injuries to the health of the worker. Woodworkers, about 12,000 in this city, work in fine clouds of dust, which it is impossible entirely to remove.

"Workers in phosphorous are subject to a variety of bone diseases. Workers in zinc or any other materials in which arsenic figures, are in dangerous employment. Persons who cork up wines and mineral waters, using galvanized wire, suffer from irritations. Lime burning brings nervous diseases on account of the fumes of carbon dioxide. Brickmakers, tile and terra cotta workers, especially in glazed work where sulphuric acid figures, is dangerous.

Mercurial tremor comes to anyone working about quicksilver. Tobacco workers, millers, molders and chimney sweeps are all subject to vegetable poisoning. Lapidaries and jewelers have eye affections.

"Most labor men have read more or less of the conditions existing in some of the cities of northern Wisconsin, but I must say the few years I worked in the city of Oshkosh, and thinking the worst conditions in the world existed there, found I was entirely mistaken when I saw the conditions in this city. Never before was there so much need of unions as there is here today."

Can anyone deny that labor has a right to organize unions, or to go into politics to find a remedy for all the wrongs heaped upon them? And this is what labor is doing. This is what all of the unions will finally come to. As intelligence increases, the working people demand better conditions and better and more humane hours of toil. Bishop Potter says:

BISHOP POTTER ON LABOR.

(A Reported Interview.)

"I have stood by the open excavation of the new underground railroad in New York City, looking at the men digging. They have told me they get two dollars a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These are not the submerged; they are men of brawn and health. They are the 'labor.'"

"I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotels at midnight hours and looked on the diners and

winers, the evening dress of men and women, with liveried waiters obsequiously serving the viands of all lands.

"These are the 'employers.'

"Are the interests of the two classes mutual? Can easy-going optimism conjure up any relationship between the two? Can any bridge span the chasm between them?

"When I go through our factories and see fine-abled, dexterous, earnest men working nine hours every day and every year a life time through, fashioning the uncouth raw material of wood and metal and marble into house material, I ask myself, 'Will the laborer have any of these polished and luxurious appliances in the home of his family or will they only go into the houses of the well-to-do, the mansions of the rich, the 'employer' class? Are the interests of the laborer and the capitalist mutual in this work?

"I know full well that many will say that money payment settles the whole score; but even if that were so, is there any mutuality when one makes and the other enjoys?"

Several years ago, at Chicago, the Vice President of the Trades Assembly welcomed the visitors in the following sarcastic language. He said:

"We would wish to bid you welcome to a prosperous city, but truth will not justify the assertion. Things are here as they are, but not as they should be. We bid you welcome in the name of a hundred monopolists, and of fifty thousand tramps, here where mammon holds high

carnival in palaces, while mothers are heartbroken, children are starving, and men are looking in vain for work. We bid you welcome in the name of a hundred thousand idle men, in the name of those edifices dedicated to the glory of God, but whose doors are closed at night to the starving and poor; in the name of the ministers who fatten from the vineyards of God, forgetting that God's children are hungry and have no place to lay their heads; in the name of the pillars of the sweating system, of the millionaires and deacons, whose souls are endangered by their appetite for gold; in the name of the wage-workers who sweat blood which is coined into golden ducats."

Mr. Potter Palmer of Chicago said: "For ten years I made as desperate a fight against organized labor as ever was made by mortal man. It cost me considerably over \$1,000,000 to learn that there is no labor so skilled, so intelligent, so faithful as that which is governed by an organization whose officials are well balanced, level-headed men. * * * I now employ none but organized labor, and never have the least trouble, each believing that the one has no right to oppress the other."

But all employers are not so friendly to organized labor as Mr. Potter Palmer. Many are bitterly antagonistic to it, and seek to destroy the unions whenever and wherever possible. Yet the more capital fights labor organizations, the more they will strengthen and fortify themselves. In fact, the wrongs and oppression of capital in

the first place are the cause of these organizations. I quote the Cleveland Citizen:

"The following is a condensed but incomplete list of judicial and legislative outrages that have been heaped upon organized labor during the past year. The Citizen does not claim that the list is absolutely correct in detail any more than that it is complete, but in a general sense it proves pretty conclusively that the only 'recognition' that labor receives at the hands of the governing powers—despite labor's loyalty to the capitalistic Republican and Democratic parties and its habit of voting its capitalistic 'friends' into office—comes in the shape of kicks and cuffs:

"Pennsylvania Supreme Court decided that glass workers had no right to demand that apprentices join their union or that only unionists be employed.

"Molders of Cleveland injunctioned.

"Supreme Court of South Dakota disfigured referendum law.

"Attorney General of Connecticut stated eight-hour law would not be enforced.

"Chicago machinists injunctioned.

"Illinois trade union legislative committee issues statement in effect that all labor laws had been defeated.

"Chicago Appellate Court handed down decision declaring picketing unconstitutional.

"Chicago court decides that blacklisting on the part of employers is lawful and constitutional.

"New York Supreme Court injunctioned brewery workers from boycotting a scab brewery.

"Retail clerks at Canandaigua, N. Y., injunctioned against boycotting and sued for damages.

"Court in Jersey City decided that it was unlawful for girl strikers to 'make faces' at scabs.

"Cleveland machinists injunctioned.

"Several New York machinists fined for picketing.

"Pennsylvania unionists report that the Legislature defeated all labor bills.

"Kentucky court decides that strikers have no right to collect or pay assessments or order others on strike.

"Jury in Anderson County, South Carolina, decides that plantation owners had the right to force contract labor to work.

"Molders and machinists at York, Pa., injunctioned.

"Silk weavers at Paterson, N. J., injunctioned.

"Cooks, waiters and bartenders at San Francisco injunctioned.

"Cincinnati machinists injunctioned.

"Hamilton, O., machinists injunctioned.

"Unionists in Dayton, O., injunctioned and sued for \$25,000 damages.

"Striking molders at York, Pa., fined heavily and imprisoned for contempt.

"Attorney General of Minnesota practically kills eight-hour law.

"Iowa court declares that anti-trust law can be enforced against trade unions.

"Ohio Supreme Court knocks out law requiring that convict-made goods be marked as such.

"Machinists of Derby, Conn., injunctioned, put under \$5,000 bonds and attachment of \$25,000 put against them.

"Ohio Supreme Court kills the law providing for screening of coal.

"Silk weavers at Paterson, N. J., fined and jailed for soliciting others to not take their jobs.

"Waiter at Ansonia, Conn., fined for calling a scab "a scab."

"Metal polishers at Dayton, O., assessed \$586 as costs to pay for injunction served against them by bosses, and made answerable for \$25,000 damages.

"Woodworkers' organizer jailed at Binghamton, N. Y., as a "nuisance."

"Kansas City machinists injunctioned.

"Machinists of Lockport, N. Y., injunctioned.

"Machinists of Boston injunctioned.

"Machinists of Lyons, N. Y., restrained.

"Machinists of Ansonia, Conn., injunctioned.

"Machinists of Northport, Wash., injunctioned.

"Machinists and others injunctioned at Seattle, Wash.

"Cigarmakers of Media, Pa., restrained.

"Second injunction hurled at Kansas City machinists and unionist given four months for disobeying same.

"Injunction hurled at pressed brickmakers of Ross-ville, O.

"Carriagemakers of Cincinnati injunctioned.

"Musicians of Springfield, Mass., injunctioned.

"Unions of Porto Rico suppressed and many members fined and imprisoned.

"Machinists of Buffalo given a second dose of injunction.

"Machinists and molders of Chicago given a second dose of injunction.

"Chicago union machinist pronounced guilty of violating an injunction for saying to a scab, 'Say, may I talk to you?'

"Printers injunctioned at Hammond, Ind., and later unionist imprisoned.

"Iron and steel workers injunctioned at Canal Dover, O.

"Postal department rules that journals owned by labor organizations are not privileged to publish advertisements. Amalgamated Association, miners and other unions somewhat crippled.

"Postal department suppresses Wilshire's Challenge, the Farmers' Advocate and is after the Appeal to Reason.

"California Supreme Court cripples a referendum law.

"Postal department forces President of Omaha C. L. T. to resign his office or leave the service.

"Supreme Court of Pennsylvania declares injunctions against trade unions constitutional.

"Court injunctions hurled, Pinkertons imported, and

police commit outrages against strikers in San Francisco.

"Flint glassworkers of Eaton, Ind., injunctioned and sued for \$10,000 damages.

"More union printers arrested in New York for 'conspiracy' for boycotting.

"Seattle unionist jailed for 'inciting to riot' in carrying a boycott banner.

"Authorities move to wipe out organization of workmen in Tampa, Fla., and protect bosses who kidnapped strikers and imported contract labor and scabs.

"Molders at York, Pa., given a second dose of injunction.

"Buffalo unionist fined \$560 for preventing six scabs from going to Cleveland to take strikers' places.

"Custom clothing workers of Chicago injunctioned from writing or telegraphing name of unfair firm or publishing the fact that said firm does not use the union label.

"Iglesias arrested and sentenced to three years' imprisonment in Porto Rico, where he was organizing workers, for having led strike two years ago.

"Cincinnati carriagemakers given a second injunction.

"Miners of Hopkins county, Ky., injunctioned, evicted and prohibited from camping on land they were given the right so to do.

"Philadelphia building trades unions injunctioned.

"Zanesville carriage workers and metal mechanics injunctioned.

"What does this long roll of tyranny teach? This:

Capital controls the governing power and uses it! Therefore, Labor controlling the votes, they should be used to capture that power and muzzle it!"

In the face of present conditions, then, it is folly to plead for harmony between Capital and Labor. As well try to harmonize fire and powder as these two elements. Capital is combining in trusts, with every promise of the strongest Plutocracy in the history of the world, and also Labor is organizing into Unions, stronger than at any time in the history of the world.

Carrol D. Wright says the American Federation of Labor has 500,000 members, the Knights of Labor 150,000, and the American Railway Union 150,000. Other local and national unions have a total membership of 600,000, making a grand total of 1,400,000 ACTIVE, WORKING members of trades unions. Many hundred thousands of workers outside the union are influenced and controlled by them. They are popular with the working classes generally because they keep up the price of labor.

The enormous power of Trades Unions, then, is only equalled by the enormous power of combined Capital.

I believe heartily that some day these two giants will clasp hands in harmony and peace—but not until after the Revolution, and until they have clashed in a terrible struggle.

CHAPTER VII.

STRIKES.

Their Cause, History and Results—Amazing Condition of Affairs in "Free" (?) America—Facts That Freeze the Blood.

It is contended by many that there never will be any danger of a great clash between capital and labor; that the facts in the case do not warrant any such prophecies; and that before long all labor troubles will be settled by arbitration.

But is this true? Let us look around us; let us see if there is any evidence to substantiate these optimistic views.

In the first place, there is the great coal strike going on in Pennsylvania right now. President Roosevelt sent Carroll D. Wright, the United States Labor Commissioner, to investigate and make a report of the condition of things. Editorially the St. Louis Post-Dispatch says:

A SUPPRESSED REPORT.

"When the anthracite strike broke out the President directed Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright to proceed to the ground, investigate and make a report.

"Mr. Wright made his report to President Roosevelt eight weeks ago. Mr. Roosevelt said it would be made public. But since then nothing has been heard or seen of the document.

"Why?

"This question is being asked with considerable feeling in the regions directly affected by the strike.

"It is reasonable to suppose that the report contains something pertinent and interesting. If it were a dull, routine paper its publication would not have been delayed. Evidently Mr. Wright said things.

"What did he say?

"The Post-Dispatch has called attention to the fact that in 1901 the output of anthracite coal exceeded by more than 9,000,000 tons the output of 1900. It can hardly be contended that the enormous increase—17 per cent—was in response to current demand. The question is, was it because the strike was foreseen, and if foreseen, why?

"Does Mr. Wright ask and answer this question?

"Let us have the report. The President will not deny the public right to it."

Again, the same paper prints the following:

"Special to the Post-Dispatch.

"WILKESBARRE, PA., May 21.—Two regiments of the National Guard are already under orders in anticipation of trouble at the coal mines. The Ninth Regiment of the National Guard, with headquarters here; the Thirteenth, with headquarters at Scranton, and the

Fourth are under orders to be in readiness for action. The men have been ordered to take home their kits and be prepared for a hurry call.

"Armored cars, bullet proof, loopholed and bristling with rifle barrels and revolvers, are to be used by the coal barons in a war for the destruction of the miners' unions.

"Barricades are being thrown up at the mines for the sheltering of uniformed guards, of whom between 3000 and 4000 have already been sworn in to shoot down the strikers if they threaten violence.

"Two hundred men were sworn in today and at least 600 more are to be sworn in.

"The armored cars have been sent to all parts of the anthracite fields."

Another paper prints the following:

"At Newport News, Va., the agent for the Pinkertons hired a lot of 'cow-punchers,' men who spend their time on the cattle ships which ply between American and European ports. These rough fellows have been supplied with rifles and will be shipped like any other cattle to the mining districts of Pennsylvania."

Does this look like there is any great love lost between labor and capital? Does the millenium seem at hand when such things exist? It is an idle dream to think that there will be any reconciliation between these two enemies in the near future.

Labor has a grievance and is daily becoming less dis-

posed to give in for the sake of peace. As long as wide inequality prevails; as long as hardships are imposed; so long will the grievance last. And these inequalities and grievances will last. The Appeal to Reason says:

"Every working day in the year, Mr. Schwab of the Steel Trust is paid a salary of \$3,205. The average wages of men who produce all that wealth is less than \$2 per day. In other words, it takes the combined wages of 1,325 wage-slaves to produce the amount paid to one man because he has the ability to prevent the laborers from getting what they earn."

Bishop Potter says:

"In railways and waterways we find men who have never seen their employers. And as you try to touch one of these lives with your own you have a sort of start, for you cannot but regard him as a mere cog in the great wheel of commerce; and so they say that some lives must be sacrificed in the coal hole that the great column of commerce must move on. You may call the theories by what name you will, they are of the devil. It is a question whether we ought to encourage the production of goods, with indifference to the infamous methods of their production."

As long as these conditions prevail, all hope of peace is useless. The very opposite will be the result.

My purpose is to show that a Revolution is coming, and to point out and analyze each element that will take part. The labor trouble is one and has a most important bearing on the subject. We wish to point out briefly

and clearly how serious is the issue at stake, and how firmly each side is entrenched in its convictions and how stubbornly they will oppose each other.

Capital claims the working people are not arbitrary, and that they cannot permit Labor Unions to dictate terms, or run their business for them. That, having large sums of money invested they have more at stake than the working people, who perhaps are only employed temporarily. And further they claim they have a right to employ whomsoever they will—union or non-union—and that labor is in the wrong when it demands that non-union labor be discharged. Further, they claim that Trades Unions are also trusts.

In answer to all of this the working classes claim they have more at stake than those who have capital invested, because their daily bread; yes, their very lives, and the lives of their families, depend upon them having occupation and wages enough to subsist upon; that capital in controlling and giving out work controls and gives out life to whomsoever they please. In other words, he who controls another economically virtually has that person enslaved. No other control is necessary. The question then is lifted to a moral plane. The rights of property and statute law all fade into insignificance before the wrongs of slavery.

If, then, labor is in the right morally, it undoubtedly will receive popular support ultimately, and will grow stronger and more aggressive.

At present organized labor is a sleeping giant, with scarcely a realization of its power. The strikes and demonstrations we have witnessed thus far are only the mutterings and tossings of the sleeping Hercules, as though in troubled dreams.

But let him awake. Then the real trouble will come. The strikes that have taken place will pale into insignificance, compared to those that are destined to shake this government to its foundations.

Yet, to gain an idea of what will take place, and what it will be like, we must look into a few of the present-day troubles and difficulties, and glance over a list of the number in progress now.

Not long after I had settled in St. Louis the famous street car strike took place, which was one of the notable ones of history.

The Transit Co., already referred to, undertook to break up the union of its employees. The latter struck and the citizens took sides with them. As has already been stated, this company had established itself by stupendous fraud and villainy; had defied the law after it was established; had watered its stock up to \$90,000,000 and was now trying in every way to squeeze a dividend out of the public and its employees. In this half-year the St. Louis Transit Company carried 64,805,033 "revenue passengers" in 2,442,178 trips, as compared to 55,924,587 passengers in 2,531,388 trips in the first six months of 1901. The passenger patronage shows an increase for the six

months of 8,880,446 fares and a decrease of 89,210 in the number of trips.

As has been stated, the cars were rushed at break-neck speed through the streets, killing and maiming the citizens in its wild desire to increase its profits.

Never was a corporation more bitterly hated than this one. Yet the people were powerless, and stood completely at the mercy of this law-breaking trust.

It was no wonder the people sympathized with the strikers. When the strike was declared, the public refused to patronize the cars, and the amazing spectacle was presented of cars on a score of lines being run to and fro without any passengers. The people walked to work; some rode in wagons, paying five times the price, rather than patronize this hated institution.

It wasn't long before the company saw they would have to do something to make the strikers unpopular with the public. This they proceeded to do. They had hirelings blow up street cars, cut and pull down wires, assault the scab motormen and conductors, and obstruct the tracks with rocks, lumber, rubbish, etc. Men were caught blowing up street cars, arrested and tried. In the trial it came out that they were hired by the company to do these things. Of course, many people were guilty of these offenses, under the mistaken idea that they were aiding the strikers. Of course they only injured the cause. I saw many acts of violence such as these, but not one of

them by the strikers. Never once did public sympathy side with the Transit Company.

The hatred of the people was further increased by the organization of the Posse Comitatus. The Governor had refused to send the militia to the city in aid of the police, and so this body was organized.

Immediately they began to bully, beat and shoot at citizens on the slightest provocation. Many people were wounded and a number killed by these hirelings before the great and awful tragedy of June 10 was enacted.

On that day the strikers gave a picnic across the river, at East St. Louis, with the object of raising funds. Returning toward evening, they marched across the bridge and straight out Washington avenue, which is a continuation of the bridge. The headquarters of the Posse Comitatus was at Sixth and Washington avenue, and only three blocks from the bridge.

Headed by a brass band, the procession marched straight out Washington avenue, passed the headquarters, just as any parade would do, following the course of many a parade before, and along the path that many have taken since.

As they passed the headquarters the bloody massacre occurred.

It is a disputed question as to which side started the trouble. The strikers claim they were not disturbing the peace. The Posse claim some one threw a piece of brick. Perhaps some bystander did. There is no proof. It is

almost a certainty that no one in the parade did. Everybody testified that the posse were more than anxious to begin firing, which they did with their deadly riot guns, for in an instant they brought these deadly weapons into play, and fired right and left into the crowd. Unmindful of the shrieks of the wounded, that lay scattered about, torn and maimed, and unmoved by the sight of the dead, they fired again and again. The bystanders said hundreds of shots must have been fired, and the spectacle was awful. The greatest confusion prevailed. A number were dead and a greater number were wounded. Many who had been shot were carried away by friends and were never counted in the list of dead and wounded.

All told, during the spring and summer that the strike lasted, there were about 27 killed and nearly 100 wounded.

The Transit Company won and completely broke up the union.

Everybody remembers the terrible and bloody Homestead Strike. The working people will never forget it, nor Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Frick.

The detailed account of one bloody strike is the story of all of them. And there are so many! To give an idea of their number we give you several lists of strikes taken from different papers during the Spring and Summer of 1902. It cannot be contemplated with indifference:

"Massachusetts averages fifteen labor strikes per month.

"Gloucester, Mass., May 1.—Seven hundred quarrymen struck for a nine-hour day.

"Durango, Col., May 1.—Three hundred miners struck for more pay.

"Rochester, N. Y., May 1.—Five hundred coal wagon drivers are on strike.

"New Britain, Conn., May 1.—Fifty carpenters were locked out in honor of May Day.

"Barre, Vt., May 1.—About 500 granite workers struck for more pay and a shorter work day.

"Port Huron, Mich., May 1.—About 500 men are out at this place in an effort to increase their wages.

"Cape Ann, Mass., May 1.—Five hundred granite cutters struck for shorter work days and better pay.

"St. Paul, May 1.—Three hundred carpenters went on strike for an eight-hour day and better wages.

"Toronto, Ont., May 1.—More than 1,000 men of all trades celebrated May Day by striking for an increase in wages.

"Providence, R. I., May 1.—One thousand teamsters struck for recognition of their union. No freight was handled all day.

"A strike among Chicago teamsters has affected thirteen mercantile establishments, and further trouble is expected.

"The American Woolen Company's weavers are nearly all out on strike. There are 20,000 of them demanding better treatment.

"Sharon, Pa., May 1.—Three hundred structural work-

ers of the American Bridge Company went on strike May 1 for \$4 and an eight-hour day.

"Bridgeport, Conn., May 1.—Two hundred carpenters, plumbers and hod carriers struck for a minimum wage of \$3 and an eight-hour day.

"Youngston, O., May 1.—Two thousand men in the building trades laid down their tools, making good their demand for an eight-hour day on May 1

"Reading, Pa., May 1.—One thousand carpenters, planing mill hands and hod carriers quit work because the contractors refused to sign an agreement.

"Coal miners at Springfield, Ill., have struck because the operators refused to sign the agreement that would favor the men. About 2,000 are idle.

"Jersey City, May 1.—Two thousand machinists and bench men in twelve moulding and saw mills went on strike for an eight-hour day and a wage of \$2.50.

"Portland, Ore., May 1.—Labor situation very unsettled. About 750 men of all trades are on strike and others threaten to lay down their tools. Shorter work days and increased wages are the demands.

"The street car men of Chicago are organizing. They will demand redress of grievances and a strike may follow. The labor organizations are supporting them, and a lively time is expected, if the men are not given their rights.

"The coal miners of Michigan are striking for better conditions.

"Six different trades are on strike in Denver for an eight-hour day.

"Singer sewing machine workers are on strike. They are getting prosperity wages—\$1.25 and \$1.35 per day.

"Patterson, N. J., has lots of trouble. About 4,500 dyers are now on strike because their wages had been reduced to the level of \$6 per week. The employers produce the causes that end in lawlessness, and then hurry to the press and lay the blame on the anarchists.

"Buffalo, N. Y., May 1.—Five thousand men went on strike in Buffalo, including carpenters, plumbers and iron workers. They demanded an increase from thirty-seven and one-half cents an hour. Bricklayers and masons were granted an increase and did not strike.

"Pittsburg, Pa., May 1.—It is estimated that over 15,000 men went on strike May 1st in this one city. The demand is for shorter work days, and increase in wages. Carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, hod carriers, bridge workers, icemen, etc., have determined to have more of the wealth they produce.

"Paterson, N. J., May 1.—All the union hod carriers went on strike for an eight-hour day and thirty cents an hour. The electrical workers are all out. Carpenters have been out several days, and it is said that one of the largest contractors signed the men's agreement. The silk dyers may return to work at an early day. Suffering has compelled them to alter their demands.

"There is a strike of engineers in Helena, Montana, and three thousand men are affected.

"Weavers in Nutmeg Silk Mills, South Manchester, Conn., are on strike against reduction of wages.

"At Nashville, Tenn., there are 300 carpenters striking for a nine-hour day and twenty-five cents an hour.

"Two men injured and twenty-four arrested as a result of a strike riot among stone masons in New York City.

"Wire frame makers of New York City are striking against reduction of wages. It was shown that some of them made as high as \$12 a week, and the firm thinks \$9 is enough for a wage-worker to live on.

"Chicago firms affected by strikes are: Chicago Photo-Engraving Company, Franklin Engraving Company, Rogers & Wells, J. Manz & Co., George A. Reiman, Barnes-Crosby Company, The Osgood Company, P. Zacker & Co., Jurgens Bros., The Rosenow Company, Illinois Engraving Company, Chicago Engraving Company, Columbia Engraving Company and Blomgren Bros.

"Two thousand wage slaves of the Coats Thread Trust are on strike against oppression at Pawtucket, R. I. Why don't they vote the same way they strike?

"Three thousand people are out of work as a result of strike of weavers in Camden, N. J. The weavers want an increase of 10 per cent to meet the increased cost of living.

"Two men were discharged from the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company in The Dalles, Ore., the other day

for being workers for the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

"There is almost a total tie-up in the building trades of Denver as a result of 5,000 members of the union going on strike in sympathy with the wood workers, who are demanding an eight-hour day.

"One thousand two hundred girls employed in cigar works at Detroit on strike because of their great prosperity. No civilized nation would have conditions that forced girls to work in tobacco.

"The Western Federation of Miners' is planning to operate a co-operative mine. Co-operation is in the air. It will sweep the world one fine morning like a pleasant breeze on a mid-summer day.

"Paterson, N. J., bakers are planning a great strike.

"Chicago bricklayers have struck for higher wages.

"Painters in Dayton, O., have struck for a nine-hour day.

"Galesburg, Ill., carpenters have struck for an eight-hour day.

"There is a strike among the weavers in Fitchburg, Mass.

"Lowell, Mass., is threatened with a strike in the textile industry.

"Six different trades are on strike in Denver for the eight-hour day.

"Marble workers are on strike for higher wages at Newark, N. J.

"A strike is brewing in the soft coal fields of Virginia and West Virginia.

"The strike of brewery workers in Cincinnati has reached large proportions.

"Toronto painters were locked out for demanding thirty cents an hour.

"Prosperity has hit Boston again, 1,600 brewery workers are striking for shorter hours.

"Ten thousand miners are striking against the Rochester & Pittsburg Coal and Iron Co."

This list does not comprise all of the strikes that have taken place in a year, but during a period of from 30 to 60 days.

A year's list would be ten times as long.

Compare the following different sentiments and you have the whole situation in a nutshell:

"Judge Baker of Indiana, a federal judge, said that men who take strikers' places should carry rapid fire guns, which they had a right to do so long as they were not concealed. And that the complaint against strikers should be amended so as to include damages. They might not have any property, but the judgment would prevent them ever accumulating any property and that officers could take their clothing if they found them in bed! And labor unions, the votes of whose members elect the Republican party that appoints such judges, should not go into politics for themselves."

And the following noble expression:

"I am weary, weary, weary, of this talk about one's getting up above his fellows. I have a thousand times more respect for the man who 'goes on strike' to lighten the burden of his fellow workers than I have for the man who for his own selfish ends 'would lighten his employer's burden;' for the sake of getting to be a 'superior' himself, getting '\$10,000 a year,' would see his fellow workmen trampled on and devote himself to 'never adding to the burden of his superiors.'"—Celia B. Whitehead.

Arrayed behind these two sentiments are the forces of Capital and Labor. It is a fight of steel bank vaults against human stomachs. But the cause of the people and labor grows stronger every day. They are winning slowly but surely, inch by inch. At last Capital will make one desperate stand. It will have the wealth and power. It will control the government and the army. All of this will be used against the people. To give an idea of the deadly weapons that may be turned against the people, we quote the Pittsburg Dispatch:

MODERN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

"A correspondent of the Pittsburg Dispatch writes from Washington, D. C.:

"What a ghastly curiosity shop are the stores of arms and projectiles and warlike models of all kinds in various nooks and corners of the War and Navy Departments! They are scattered and meager by comparison, to be sure, but they are enough to set the most thoughtless a-thinking as to what we are coming to, and what will be the end

of the wonderful impetus of invention in the direction of weapons for the destruction of human kind. All that we possess up to this time, in this our new country, in the way of examples of such invention, would hardly compare in interest or volume with a single room of the vast collection in the old Tower of London, but it is enough to tell the whole story. To look at all this murderous machinery one would think the governors of the world were bent on the extermination of the human race, instead of its improvement and preservation.

“Along with the modern inventions which enable one man to kill 1,000 in the twinkling of an eye are the crude weapons of those simpler days when men fought hand to hand in battle. But we need not refer to them to illustrate progress in the art of warfare. Even the machinery used in the very latest of the great wars is now antiquated. Were a new Civil War to begin to-morrow in the United States, or were we to become involved in a war with a foreign country, we could as soon think of taking wings and battling in the air as to fight with the weapons of a quarter of a century ago. A few of the guns and ships which came into vogue towards the closing days of the war, remodeled and improved almost out of their original shape, might be employed under some conditions, but the great bulk of the murderous machinery would be supplanted with entirely new inventions, compared with which the best of the old would be weak or wholly powerless. I never was more forcibly reminded of this progress

in the domain of the horrific than yesterday when on an errand to the Navy Department I was shown the model and plans of the new Maxim automatic mitrailleuse. It (and the Maxim guns with other names) is certainly the most ingenious and the wickedest of all the curious weapons of warfare recently invented. It is the intention to manufacture them up to the size of a six-inch cannon, which will automatically fire about 600 rounds in a minute. This, of course, has been exceeded by the Gatling and other guns, carrying very small projectiles, but these, compared with the Maxim, are cumbersome to operate, require more attendants, are much heavier and far less accurate. One man can operate the Maxim gun, or one woman, or one child, for that matter, and after setting it going the gunner can stroll away for a quick lunch while his gun is engaged in killing a few hundred people. The gunner sits on a seat at the rear of the gun behind his bullet proof shield, if he desires to use one. When he wants to mow down an army in a few minutes he simply waits till the aforesaid army gets into a position favorable for his work. Then he pulls a crank which fires the first cartridge, and the work of the automatic machinery begins. The explosion of the first cartridge causes a recoil which throws the empty shell out of the breach, brings another shell into place and fires it. The recoil of that explosion does a similar service, and so on to infinity. It is murder in perpetual motion.

“One of Mr. Maxim’s inventions is called the “riot

gun," a light little affair that can be transported in one's arms with enough ammunition to drive any ordinary mob out of the streets or out of existence. It is curious how all of the most recent inventions in this line look toward a certainty of riotous mobs. Since when did the inventor turn prophet? Well, this "riot gun" can be worked at the rate of ten murderous shots a second, with the gunner all the time concealed, and in perfect safety, even from a mob armed with guns or even pistols, provided that same mob does not conclude to make a rush and capture gun and gunner. It seems to be expected by inventors like Mr. Maxim that modern mobs will stand in the streets to be shot down without acting either on the defensive or the aggressive, and that they will not stand around safe corners with bombs, or blow up or burn a city in their frenzy. However this may be, he has done all he can in the way of a gun for mobs. This little weapon can carry enough ammunition with it to clean out a street at one round, and in a few seconds, and it can be operated from walls or windows with as great facility as in the open street. With a twist of the wrist it can be turned up or down on the point of its carriage, and made to kill directly above or below the gunner without endangering the life or limb of that devotee of the fine art of murder.' "

What will be more natural than for those in power to use these weapons upon the masses in revolt? They will be bent upon holding the situation, and perhaps will be convinced they are in the right. Feeling called upon to

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STRIKES.

the institutions they think threatened, they will do nothing. We simply ask is it unreasonable to pre-
dict that strikes will be one—only one—of the factors in
the revolution?

CHAPTER VIII.

MACHINERY.

**Its Development; Its Place in the Economic World—Its
Relation to Labor and Capital and the Part
It Will Act In the Future.**

The introduction of labor-saving machinery into modern industry has been productive of both good and evil. Like fire, it is both a good and a bad agent. If controlled judiciously it is a blessing; if employed promiscuously and recklessly, it may produce great havoc. It is in the latter way that machinery has been introduced—planlessly, and without any regard to its general and ultimate effect. This blindness and its result we will consider.

How remarkable that such a powerful and good agent can become so perverted. How terrible to think of possible great blessings turned into great plagues. Think of the immense wealth that might be produced; and that might add to the comforts, joy and happiness of the race.

And yet there are many men who would gladly see machinery abolished, and hand labor instituted once more. This, of course, will be attributed to ignorance and preju-

dice, and to a view that is so narrow that it has not taken in the whole problem. It will be said they never weigh the good against the bad that results from the use of labor-saving machinery. Maybe they don't. And yet can they be blamed? They get all of the bad and very little of the good. Into their lives have come more of the bitterness and disappointments than the blessings and helps incidental to the employment of machinery. Their share has been reduced wages, uncertainty of work, loss of position, and worry, with a small per cent of the good things that go with it.

A brief review of the many labor-saving devices adopted becomes in order. So many have been added daily of recent years that we scarcely notice them. There are too many to pay attention to them all.

During the last half of the eighteenth century there began a remarkable change in the methods of producing wealth which is still going on. This change was ushered in by a series of inventions. Kay's fly-shuttle (1739), Hargreaves' spinning jenny (1764), Arkwright's water frame (1769), Watt's steam engine, invented in 1769 and applied to the manufacture of cotton sixteen years later, Crompton's mule (1779), Cartwright's power loom (1789), and Whitney's cotton gin (1793).

Since that time invention has followed invention with astonishing rapidity. The railroad, the steamboat, the telegraph and the telephone have come, and now to the power of steam is being added that of electricity. The

story of the introduction of modern machinery is too long to trace in detail here. The first effect on the hand workers who were supplanted by machines was disastrous in the extreme. Later effects are little better.

Not long since in Pennsylvania, within the brief space of six hours and four minutes a number of sheep were shorn, and the wool put through all the processes of manufacture necessary to turn it into a suit of clothes.

A test was also made with shoes. A steer was killed, the hide tanned, turned into leather and made into shoes all in twenty-four hours.

In an interview recently, a St. Louis shoe manufacturer stated for the *Shoe and Leather Gazette* that by the aid of new turn machines his concern can produce about 400 pairs of shoes a day; one operator doing the work formerly requiring eighteen skilled mechanics.

The new glass bottle blowing machine is pronounced a success by the trade. One of the Standard Oil Company's manufacturing concerns uses 10,000,000 bottles a year, and the president of the company says the machine-made bottle is entirely satisfactory. A lamp chimney machine is being operated in Birmingham, England, and a plant is being built in Toledo, O., to manufacture chimneys by machinery exclusively. "With one unskilled man or boy to work it this machine does the labor of four skilled men by the old process," says a writer who describes its workings.

A new electrical riveting machine, to be used in the

erection of large buildings, etc., and that can insert 1200 rivets in ten hours; a needle-making machine that revolutionizes the industry by destroying hand production and turning out 260 needles per minute; and a new stereotyping process that operates automatically and displaces many skilled workers, are new labor-saving devices announced as entering the market.

The printing business is undergoing changes daily. The linotype is fast taking the place of type-setters. But that is not all. Inside of a year a new automatic type-setting machine will be on the market that will sell for \$2,000. It will be run by electricity and set whole words at a single touch. A new web press will also be on the market soon which will print newspapers faster than they can be counted and is much simpler in construction than the presses now in use.

The following is from St. Louis Labor:

"A basket machine has recently been invented which will completely revolutionize the basket making industry and throw thousands of workers out of employment. The machine was invented by Mergenthaler, the inventor of the linotype, and is almost as wonderful in its make-up.

"About fifty of the machines are in operation in various parts of the country, making grape baskets, berry baskets and fruit baskets of a strength and quality never approached by hand work, and with speed and ease which makes these machines wonderful to all who watch their work. Fancy a single machine that will turn out com-

pleted berry baskets at the rate of 12,000 per day of nine hours work! This is at the rate of 1300 per hour, or over TWENTY BASKETS A MINUTE.

"When you take into account the fact that heretofore all baskets have been made by hand, and that one girl operator on one of these Mergenthaler-Horton machines accomplishes as much as twelve hand operators, the real efficiency and the money saving qualities of the machine become evident."

Electricity is yet in its infancy, but where it once takes possession of a field it appears to be permanent, and delvers of the dusky diamonds will soon have to face the stern fact that where they have not been driven out by the cheap labor of Europe they have a more invincible foe to meet, and that in a few years, where thousands are engaged in mining, hundreds will do an equal amount of work by the aid of electrical mining machinery.

The Olyphant Gazette says:

"The wonderful strides of science, and innumerable devices of this inventive age, are fast driving manual labor out of many industries, and thousands of workmen who found remunerative employment a few years ago are vainly seeking for something to do. Where hundreds of men were engaged in a mill or factory, now a score will do a greater amount of work, aided by mechanical contrivance."

Still another writer says:

"In the tailoring business one man with electricity can

cut 500 garments a day. In Carnegie's steel works, electricity helping, eight men do the work of 300. One match-making machine, fed by a boy, can cut 10,000,000 sticks a day. The newest weaving loom can be run without attention all through the dinner hour, and an hour and a half after the factory is closed, weaving cloth automatically.

"Here is presented the problem of the age that is awaiting solution: how to so connect our powers and our necessities that there shall be no waste of energy and no want. With this problem properly solved, it is plain that there need be no tired, overworked people; no poverty, no hunger, no deprivation, no tramps. Solutions innumerable have been proposed, but so far none seems applicable without doing somebody an injustice, real or apparent. The man who shall lead the people to the light in this matter will be the greatest hero and the greatest benefactor of his race the world has ever known."

Another writer notes the following as facts:

"One man and two boys can do the work which it required 1,100 spinners to do but a few years ago.

"One man now does the work of fifty weavers at the time of his grandfather.

"Cotton printing machines have displaced fifteen hundred laborers to each one retained.

"One machine with one man as attendant manufactures as many horse shoes in one day as it would take 500 men to make in the same time.

"Out of 500 men formerly employed at the log sawing business, 499 have lost their jobs through the introduction of modern machinery.

"One nail machine takes the place of 1,100 men.

"In the manufacture of paper 95 per cent of hand labor has been replaced.

"One man can now make as much pottery ware in the same time as 1,000 could do before machinery was applied.

"By the use of machinery in loading and unloading ships one man can perform the labor of 2,000 men.

"An expert watchmaker can turn out from 250 to 300 watches each year with the aid of machinery, 85 per cent of former hand labor being thus displaced."

The Pittsburg Post, noting the progress of crude iron manufacture during the past twenty years by improved furnaces, says:

"Twenty years ago, in 1876, the production of pig iron in the United States was 2,093,236 tons. In the year 1895 the production of pig iron in the County of Allegheny was 2,054,585 tons. In 1885 the total production of the country was 4,144,000 tons of pig iron, while in 1895 we led the world with 9,446,000 tons."

Canadians notice the same conditions and the same effects. The Montreal Times says:

"With the best machinery of the present day one man can produce cotton cloth for 250 people. One man can produce woollens for 300 people. One man can produce

boots and shoes for 1,000 people. One man can produce bread for 200 people. Yet thousands cannot get cottons, woollens, boots or shoes or bread. There must be some reason for this state of affairs. There must be some way to remedy this disgraceful state of anarchy that we are in. Then, what is the remedy?"

The Topeka State Journal says:

"Prof. Hertzka, an Austrian economist and statesman, has discovered that to run the various departments of industry to supply the 22,000,000 Austrians with all the necessities of life, by modern methods and machinery, would take the labor of only 615,000 men, working the customary number of hours. To supply all with luxuries would take but 315,000 more workers. He further calculates that the present working population of Austria, including all females, and all males between the ages of 16 and 50, is 5,000,000 in round numbers. His calculations further led him to assert that this number of workers, all employed and provided with modern machinery and methods, could supply all the population with necessities and luxuries by working thirty-seven days a year, with the present hours. If they chose to work 300 days a year, they would only have to do so during one hour and twenty minutes per day.

"Prof. Hertzka's figures regarding Austria, if correct, are applicable with little variation to every other country, not excepting the United States. There is a steam harvester at work in California that reaps and binds ninety

acres a day, with the attention of three men. With gang-plows attached, the steam apparatus of this machine can plow eighty-eight acres a day. A baker in Brooklyn employs 350 men and turns out 70,000 loaves a day, or at the rate of 200 loaves for each man employed. In making shoes with the McKay machine, one man can handle 300 pairs in the same time it would take to handle five pairs by hand. In the agricultural implement factory 500 men now do the work of 2,500 men.

"Prior to 1879 it took seventeen skilled men to turn out 500 dozen brooms per week. Now nine men can turn out 1,200 dozen in the same time. One man can make and finish 2,500 2-pound tin cans a day.

And this is only a brief review. A thousand instances might be cited instead. Furthermore, many inventions are in an incomplete state; while common sense tells us that invention has just begun. One could scarcely overestimate the possibilities of the future.

Then, suppose all of this machinery is run to its full capacity. The machine, skillful, tireless and efficient, in competition with men will outstrip them, take their places and throw countless thousands out of work. What will be the good of all the wealth turned out by the machines? The few who secure work will get less wages. Those out of work will have no means of support. If no one is able to buy this vast product, how will it be disposed of? If it cannot be disposed of, there will be a general shut-

down, followed by a panic such as the world has never witnessed.

Does any one think the people will be cool and reasonable then? When they think of the ease with which all the necessities and luxuries of life are produced; when they view the overflowing warehouses; when they think that on account of overproduction, panic, etc., they are out of work and in need of all these things, will they not become frenzied? or will they stand by with their families and suffer in silence? No! Lashed by hunger they will act. History will repeat itself.

I wish to impress this fact: that this is only another element at work to hasten the revolution. After thoroughly examining the subject of machinery one is almost led to believe that it will lead to a revolution in itself. However, elsewhere is told how all these forces will unite; how they are not separate factors, but intimately connected with each other; and the reason why they will act together given.

CHAPTER IX.

CHILD LABOR.

A Curse Without Palliation—The Infamy of Our Civilization—Heartrending Facts of Cruelty and Injustice.

America claims to be the most enlightened country in the world. In inventions we certainly lead. In science, literature and art we are fast becoming the peer of Europe. We weigh the heavenly bodies, and determine their chemical elements. Microscopists and bacteriologists delve into nature's most hidden secrets. No avenue of research but what is thoroughly investigated by this intelligent people. And finally we put little children to work in the factories and mines. Little tots that ought to be at home under a mother's care, or at school receiving the training that we owe them. How barbarous! How inconsistent with all our learning and wisdom! Why does this nation put these helpless little ones to work in the mines, factories and shops, when we have so much machinery, so many strong men, and such an abundance of wealth, as statistics continually show? And why is this practice on the increase? The following report of Labor Commissioner O'Donnell of Minnesota is startling:

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"CHILD LABOR ON INCREASE.

"Minnesota Labor Commissioner Submits Figures for the Benefit of Working Men.

"Minneapolis, Minn., Jan. 4.—Labor Commissioner O'Donnell yesterday completed a report of the inspection work done in the entire state during 1901. In all 3,647 establishments have been inspected, employing 85,393 persons.

"Of these 3,172 are classified as manufacturing, and employ 71,192 people.

"Child labor has increased over 1900 from .92 per cent to 1.01 per cent. A large portion of the child labor, however, was employed DURING THE VACATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Child labor is divided among the classes of establishments as follows:

	Per Cent.
Cigar manufacturing	5
Cooperage	2.55
Knitting works	12.20
Printing trade	1.86
Tinware manufacture	12.00
Department stores	3.00
Retail stores	3.00

"Sunday work, in addition to regular week work as far as the present inspection reached, included 5,374 persons, or 6.29 per cent of the weekly wage earners."

"These figures tell the story of capitalist exploitation in

more forceful language than a mere theoretical argument.

"They show that already 12 per cent of the employees in the knitting works and tinware manufactories of Minnesota are children and that the employment of children is steadily on the increase.

"With the perfection of modern machinery skilled labor has become almost unnecessary, and the hand of a child can as easily direct its motions as the strongest man.

"The capitalist class, whose profits are made from the surplus wealth created by labor, understands the increase which will accrue to it through any reduction in the portion allotted to labor. Any measure which, if adopted, would bring about this result, will at once be put into practice by the capitalist class.

"The machine offers this opportunity, and they employ children in their operation for the reason that they do not require as much wages as a man, while their labor is just as effective.

"It appears from the report here shown that the greatest increase in this child labor occurred 'during the vacation months.' The children of the working class are not even allowed an opportunity to enjoy their school vacation, but they must give up their time, which should be spent in pleasure and recreation, in the employment of capitalism; they must spend their leisure hours in grinding out profits for those who hold the power of life and death over them."

The first question asked is, "What effect will child labor

have on the revolution? Will these little ones rise up and take part?"

Child labor has an important bearing on the subject, but not because these little ones will ever rise up and protest against the wrongs inflicted upon them. It shows what a terrible condition our present industrial system is in; and it will set people thinking and studying. And then, by the practice their fathers are thrown out of work. Stop and think of the condition of things; when the strong men of the nation are forced to idleness and their children compelled to work. This can not be tolerated very long. The perpetuation of it would be worse than revolution. And, does it not seem that something must be wrong or we never could have reached such a state of affairs.

These are not my thoughts or opinions, but facts as they exist all over this fair land of ours. Aside from what I know I give the observations of others; people who have no concern except merely to publish the truth.

The following is from the St. Louis Chronicle:

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem.

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3. The second part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem.

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*The Modern Moloch
Child Labor*



Modern Child Labor says:
"Suffer little children to come unto me, for mine is the Kingdom of Hell."

**"WEARING THEIR LIVES AWAY FOR TEN CENTS
A DAY.**

**Pitiful Condition of Children in the Cotton Mills of
Georgia.**

**CHRONICLE STAFF CORRESPONDENT FINDS
STARTLING CONDITIONS.**

Tots Grow Up Stunted in Growth and in Ignorance.

"From a Staff Correspondent.

"Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 8.—Hundreds of children, scores of whom are not more than 10 years old, and many only 8 and 9, are wearing their little lives away in the cotton mills of Georgia, or growing up to stunted development, in ignorance as dense as that which pervades uncivilized districts of Central Africa. In describing the conditions governing child labor in the cotton mills, I was particularly cautioned not to exaggerate.

"My investigation has proved that exaggeration is practically impossible, for it is difficult to imagine how conditions could be worse. Yet I am told that conditions have improved in recent years. If that be true, what a task it must have been for any clergyman to impress the little ones with the punishment of a life hereafter, unless they were threatened with an eternity in the mill.

"Children ranging in age from less than 10 years upward are working 12½ hours a day for as low as 10 cents

a day. They are often brought up in the mill, lying in improvised cribs behind their toiling mothers. Frequently they narrowly escape being born there.

"Many of the little ones become accustomed to the deafening noise of the machinery before they become familiar with their mothers' faces, and long before they can lisp the name of 'mamma.'

"Amid such surroundings they grow up to take their places in the mill as soon as they are able to do the work.

"Often whole families work together in the mill, the children in one department and the parents in another, but between them they can not eke out more than a scanty living, so low are the wages paid the hands.

"The work of the little children is largely confined to the spinning room, where unremitting attention is required instead of muscle or riper intelligence. In the spinning room are the frames, where the coarser material is spun into fine thread, ready for weaving. The coarse thread unwinds from one spool, passes through a corrugated roller that thins it out and winds up again on another spool. The frames are double, facing both ways, and there are from 75 to 125 spools on each side.

"The frames are separated by a passageway about four feet wide, and the children are kept busy walking up and down this alley watching the spools to see that everything runs smoothly. When the threads break they gather up the ends, unite them by rubbing them between their fingers, and start the spools going again. The children

have to be on their feet almost constantly, and always on the watch for broken threads. The doors and windows are always kept tightly closed, and as a result the air is bad and filled with flying particles of cotton. The majority of the children employed at the spindles are girls, and the effect of the long hours of work and being constantly on their feet is especially noticeable on their health. The health of the children is affected in more ways than one, and their growth and development are stunted.

"The general rate of pay is 10 cents a day for one side of a frame. The child is paid nothing for the two or three weeks that it takes to learn to do the work. When the little one is able to watch one side of a frame she is put on the pay roll, and is entitled to draw coupons good at the company store against her pay. After two or three months she may be able to attend to two sides, and then she gets 20 cents a day. By the time she is 16 or 17 years old she may perhaps be able to take care of four or five sides, if she makes good progress.

"The spools on the frames are changed from empty to full and full to empty by 'dorling boys.' They are given certain sections to look after, and have enough to keep them busy. Like the girls who watch the threads, their eyes have to be constantly on the spools. They are paid from 25 to 50 cents a day, but generally the lower price.

"The looms in the other part of the mill are operated

by the older children, those of 15 and over—and the mothers and fathers.

“The children go to work at from 5:45 to 6:30 in the morning, and work 12 hours and a quarter or 12 hours and a half for five days in the week, with half an hour for lunch. Saturday is a short day, and the mills generally close at 2 or 3 o'clock on that day. Most of the mills run 66 hours a week, but some run 67. Although Saturday is a short day, a child loses one-sixth of its week's wages if it misses that day.

“The effect of the long hours and close confinement is shown in the heavy percentage of sickness among the children. As a general rule they do not work more than four days a week, either on account of sickness or because, as sometimes happens, they are a few minutes late in getting to work and are locked out. The child who gets in five days a week is thought to be doing exceptionally well.

“Another result of the long hours of work is that the children can not go to school, and they are growing up in appalling ignorance. In many cases small schools are maintained by the mills for a few months in the year, but the attendance is very light, because by the time the children are old enough to learn they are put to work in the mill. Night schools have been tried, but always failed to accomplish anything, because after working all day the children are too tired to attend school at night.

“The mill owners admit that not 10 per cent of the chil-

dren they employ can read or write. I believe the percentage is even smaller than that.

"HUGH CAVANAUGH."

At Union Springs, Ala., there are children working in the cotton mills, at the age of nine and over, who do not know the name of the state in which they live.

I give another article by Mother Jones, the great friend of the miners, and who was ordered sent to jail by Judge Jackson, as described previously:

THE COAL MINERS OF THE OLD DOMINION.

"A few Sundays ago I attended a church in a place called McDonald, on Loop Creek, in West Virginia. In the course of his sermon the preacher gave the following as a conversation that had recently taken place between him and a miner:

"I met a man last week," said the preacher, 'who used to be a very good church member. When I asked him what he was doing at the present time he said that he was organizing his fellow craftsmen of the mines.'

"Then, according to the preacher, the following discussion took place:

"'What is the object of such a union?' asked the preacher.

"'To better our condition,' replied the miner.

"'But the miners are in a prosperous condition now.'

"'There is where we differ.'

"'Do you think you will succeed?'

"'I am going to try.'

"Commenting on this conversation to his congregation the preacher said: 'Now I question if such a man can meet with any success. If he were only a college graduate he might be able to teach these miners something and in this way give them light, but as the miners of this creek are in a prosperous condition at the present time I do not see what such a man can do for them.' Yet this man was professing to preach the doctrines of the Carpenter of Nazareth. Let us compare his condition with that of the 'prosperous' miners and perhaps we can see why he talked as he did. At this same service he read his report for the previous six months. For his share of the wealth these miners had produced during that time he had received \$847.67, of which \$45 had been given for missionary purposes. Besides receiving this money he had been frequently wined and dined by the mine operators and probably had a free pass on the railroad. What had he done for the miners during that time? He had spoken to them twenty-six times, for which he received \$32.41 a talk, and if they were all like the one I heard he was at no expense, either in time, brains or money to prepare them. During all this time the 'prosperous' miners were working ten hours a day beneath the ground amid poisonous gases and crumbling rocks. If they were fortunate enough to be allowed to toil every working day throughout the year they would have received in return for 3,080 hours of most exhausting toil less than \$400.

"Jesus, whose doctrines this man claimed to be preach-

ing, took twelve from among the laborers of his time (no college graduates among them) and with them founded an organization that revolutionized the society amid which it rose. Just so in our day the organization of the workers must be the first step to the overthrow of capitalism.

* * * * *

"Then my mind turned to the thousands of 'trap boys,' with no sunshine ever coming into their lives. These children of the miners put in fourteen hours a day beneath the ground for sixty cents, keeping their lone watch in the tombs of the earth with never a human soul to speak to them. The only sign of life around them is when the mules came down with coal. Then as they open the trap doors to let the mules out a gush of cold air rushes in, chilling their little bodies to the bone. Standing in the wet mud up to their knees, there are times when they are almost frozen, and when at last late at night they are permitted to come out into God's fresh air they are sometimes so exhausted that they have to be carried to the corporation shack they call a home.

"The parents of these boys have known no other life than that of endless toil. Now those who have robbed and plundered the parents are beginning the same story with the present generation. These boys are sometimes not more than nine or ten years of age. Yet in the interests of distant bond and stockholders these babes must be imprisoned through the long beautiful daylight in the dark and dismal caverns of the earth. Savage cannibals

at least put their victims out of their misery before beginning their terrible meal, but the cannibals of to-day feast their poodle dogs at the seashore upon the life blood of these helpless children of the mines. A portion of this blood-stained plunder goes to the support of educational incubators called universities, that hatch out just such ministerial fowls as the one referred to.

"The miner with whom this minister had been talking had been blacklisted up and down the creek for daring to ask for a chance to let his boy go to school instead of into the mines. This miner could have told the minister more about the great industrial tragedy in the midst of which he was living in five minutes than all his college training had taught him.

* * * * *

"At the bidding of these same stock and bondholders, often living in a foreign land, the school houses of Virginia are closed to those who build them and to whom they belong by every right. The miners pay taxes, build the school and support the officers, but if they dare even to stand upon the school house steps a snip of a mine boss comes along with pistol in hand and orders them off. '— free speech,' said one of them to me when I protested, 'we do not need any free speech. You get off the earth.' Not only the school rooms, but every church or public hall is locked against us. On every school board you will find at least one company clerk or mining boss, and it is the business of this henchman of the mine own-

ers to see to it that the school buildings are not used for public meetings by the miners."

**"COLORED CHILDREN AT SCHOOL, WHITE ONES
WORK IN MILLS."**

Under this heading a Cleveland daily paper prints the following special correspondence from its reporter, who is traveling through the South:

"Union Springs, Ala., Feb. 12.—There is a large mill here that turns out cotton yarn, and in it I found the usual percentage of very small children. One little fellow, with a face as serious as though he had been fighting life's battles for years, was operating a band-making machine. He said he was 8 years old, and when I pretended to doubt his statement he protested, 'Oh, yes; I know how old I am.'

"One little boy working near him said he was 9 years old.

" 'How long have you been working in the mill?' I asked.

" 'Oh, not very long,' he replied, 'only a little over a year.'

" 'Do you know the name of the state you live in?'

" 'Oh, yes sir; Union Springs.'

"The little fellow had never heard of Alabama.

"Just beyond where this boy worked I picked up a small totler, not over 3 or 4 years old, who evidently knew no other play ground than the mill floor. Here he appears every morning before 6 o'clock with his mother

and sister, a girl about 12 years old. The mother and daughter, besides attending to their duties in the mill, keep a watchful eye on the baby as he plays about on the floor.

"For the first time I saw colored children at work in this mill. This was explained by the statement that it was very hard to get white workers, as 75 per cent of the town's population was colored. In all of the other towns that I have visited colored children were barred by the refusal of the white children to work with them.

"The result of this condition is that the colored children are going to school and acquiring an education, while the white children, who work all day in the mills, are growing up in ignorance. It must not be imagined, either, that these children are foreigners. They are all Americans, and came from families that have lived in this country for generations. They are naturally bright and smart, and would learn easily and quickly with any advantages at all."

AND HERE'S ANOTHER.

The correspondent of the Cleveland Daily Press is visiting the Southern cotton mills. He visited the Exposition mills near Atlanta, which last year returned big, fat dividends to the stockholders. Here is what he says:

"The Exposition company has 800 employes, of whom 275 are children from 10 to 14, while forty are under 12. As is the rule throughout the state, they are paid ten

cents a day for one side of a frame, which is all that many of them can operate. It is liberal to put the average wage of the children at twenty-five cents a day.

"The Exposition mill is surrounded by a high board fence, just outside of which are the cheap little two and three-roomed shacks that are rented to the mill workers for \$1.50 to \$2.50 a month.

"I met Chas. D. Tuller, secretary-treasurer of the Exposition mills. He said conditions had recently been much improved. To my suggestion that as the owners were inclined to be fair and sincere it would seem to be good policy for them to assist in passing a law prohibiting the employment of children under 12, he replied:

"'Never will such a law be enacted in this state. We have educated the legislators to know there is no necessity for it. We know it would simply be the entering wedge. The next thing, we would have a state official sticking his nose into our affairs, and then the walking delegate. No, sir! We will have none of it.'

"I stood at the gate of the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mill, in Atlanta, at 5:30 one morning just as the big bell was calling the employes to work, and saw the children come running over the frozen ground from cheerless cabins. Many of them were barefooted and all were thinly clad. The mill employs 1,400 persons, of whom 400 of them are small children.

"In indiscriminate questioning I did not find one who

could read or write, and but one girl who could spell her name.

"In this mill every applicant for employment signs a contract that, in case of injury in the mill, the company will not be held responsible. Parents or guardians sign for minors, and it is a rare thing to see anything more than 'his mark.'"

This from a writer in the Review of Reforms:

THE NECESSITY FOR ACTION, NOT WORDS, ON
CHILD LABOR.

"Editor Review of Reforms.

"The article entitled, 'Business Men Aroused Against Child Labor,' in your November issue, should enlist the efforts not only of every business man, but of every mother and woman, to stir up the legislature and congress on this important subject.

"The fact that girls, mostly under eleven years of age, are employed in factories and stores, appeals to the motherhood of the race to help educate on this great evil and to 'cry it down.'

"That children of both sexes, from ten to fourteen years of age, are employed all night, as well as day, notably in a thread factory at Huntsville, Ala., is an outrage in this 'twentieth century civilization,' of which we so much boast. How can a nation remain free with the ignorance and vice that comes of such customs?

Why do we spend so much for public schools; and children be deprived of their opportunities to an education?

I fear we are drifting into an empire of ignorance and its accompanying results not surpassed by any foreign country of Europe, that the people of this free Republic have pointed to with the finger of scorn and derision.

"Mothers, will you not arouse yourselves on this great question? The past year is fast making history for our Republic. The addition of Hawaii and the Philippines and Cuba is an added menace to our free institutions. The ignorance of the growing youth of our blood to assume the duties of citizenship is not a hopeful outlook. Every mother as well as father should arouse to the occasion and look these facts squarely in the face before we become engulfed in irretrievable danger. The social and economic conditions of men and women today, more than ever before since we became an independent nation, are crying to each and everyone to come up and help in these critical times. Culture clubs that study dead history of Plutarch and Greek Sages are futile in these stirring times that call for humanity, and a federated club of women for the betterment of women, men and children.

"So I appeal to you, my sisters, to consider these vital questions and make your influence felt. And here I am reminded of the poet who wrote:

" 'So many Gods,
So many creeds,
So many paths that wind and wind,
While all the sad world needs
Is just the art of being kind.'

"HANNAH TYLER WILCOX, M. D.
"3840 Finney Ave., St. Louis, December 1, 1898."

The Boston Transcript says:

“EFFECT OF CHILD LABOR.

“If we are to believe Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, current jests about the perpetual weariness of the tramp frequently hides a deeper meaning than most suspect. She finds that many persons slip into tramp life through physical and moral exhaustion, resulting from overwork in childhood. In a recent address on this subject before the Chicago Business Woman’s Club, Miss Addams said: ‘Child labor undertaken too early or performed in excess is responsible for a large number of the tramps and ambitionless way-farers of America. The boy or girl who works too early is surfeited with labor, bankrupt of ambition long before the time when work should begin at all.’

“The belief that trampdom often is recruited from the ranks of youthful toilers who have been overcome by an intense and terrible physical and moral fatigue because they overtaxed their strength is not new, but so far it has hardly been made the subject of careful investigation. At Hull House those facts have been observed for a number of years, and data are being collected. ‘We notice,’ says Miss Addams, ‘that the child workers who were bright and eager and ambitious when commencing work some six or seven years ago, are different now. Nearly all of them are dull and lifeless, lacking energy and without ambition. Many are actual tramps.’”

The recital of these facts might be extended indefinitely; and evidence piled upon evidence. But it would

be unnecessary. Every trade unionist knows it to be true, as does every newspaper reader, and every resident of our large cities. Like Napoleon who robbed the cradles of France to add to his army, so our much-vaunted captains of industry have robbed our cradles to satisfy their greed. They have extended their army and said, "Suffer little children to come unto us, and forbid them not, for ours is the kingdom of hell."

This is only another unhealthy symptom; another gnawing canker, which plainly shows something is radically wrong, and which will meet with heroic treatment.

CHAPTER X.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

An Unsolved Question; Even in Times of Prosperity Great
Perils Only Temporarily Postponed—The Cause
Deep-Rooted and Growing—Danger Imminent.

The problem of the unemployed is a most serious one to any nation; even during the brief intervals of good times. It is serious today, will be tomorrow, and more so the day after. There always have been short periods during which work has been plentiful, only to be followed by a reaction. At present this country is enjoying an era of prosperity. But it requires but little study and observation to show that it cannot last. The effect must always be governed by the causes and conditions.

How can there be plenty of work when inventions and labor-saving machinery are being multiplied daily; and with the sole object in view of dispensing with the labor of men? And when children are taking the place of men in mine, factory and shop? Is not this subject properly a continuation of the subjects Machinery and Child Labor? With Child Labor on the increase, and such improvements

in machinery being made, large numbers must necessarily be thrown out of work, and especially when those employed work from eight to sixteen hours per day.

If sufficiently aggravated this evil might produce a revolution alone.

Benjamin Franklin estimated that, if all would work, four hours labor a day, intelligently applied, would supply the wants of all. If that was true in his time what shall we say of the present era, with its wonderful increase in productive power? John Stuart Mill wrote, almost with a wail: "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." This cannot continue. The forces are gathering which will demand that machinery be utilized to lighten the labor and increase the comforts of life for every producer of wealth.

Prof. Hertzka, the Austrian editor and author, in his book entitled, "Laws of Social Evolution," says:

"I have investigated what labor and time will be necessary, with our present machines, etc., to create all common necessities of life for our Austrian nation of 22,000,000. It takes 10,500,000 hektars of agricultural lands, 3,000,000 of pasturages for all agricultural products. I then allowed a house to be built for every family, consisting of five rooms. I then found that all industries, agriculture, architecture, building, flour, sugar, coal, iron, machine building, clothing and chemical productions, need 615,000 laborers employed 11 hours per day 300 days a

year to satisfy every imaginable want for 22,000,000 inhabitants.

"These 615,000 laborers are only 12.3 per cent of the population able to work, excluding all women and all persons under 16 or over 50 years of age. All these latter to be called not able.

"Should the 5,000,000 able men be engaged in work instead of 615,000, they need only to work 36.9 days every year to produce everything needed for the support of the population of Austria. But should the 5,000,000 work all the year—say 300 days, which they would likely have to do to keep the supply fresh in every department—each one would only work 1 hour and 22½ minutes per day.

"But to engage to produce all the luxuries in addition, it would take in round figures 1,000,000 workers, classed and assorted as above, or only 20 per cent. of all those able, excluding every woman, or every person under 16 or over 50, as before. The 20 per cent of able, strong male members could produce everything imaginable for the whole nation of 22,000,000 in 2 hours and 12 minutes per day, working 300 days a year."

These figures are reliable and prove that if everybody worked but two or three hours per day, the world's toil might be accomplished very easily.

From various causes—machinery, trusts, inventions, etc.—entire trades and crafts are dispensed with; and the large numbers employed in them thrown out of work and forced to look elsewhere for employment.

This is true of drummers and salesmen. The advent of the trust has killed competition, and thus made the drummer less and less a necessity. Eventually the trusts will practically do without them; for having control of all the business, and there being no competition, they will not need to send anyone out to solicit orders; and the drummer will go.

Mr. Edward H. Sanborn, of the United States census staff, after a careful inquiry, placed the number of drummers in the United States in 1880 at 250,000, and their cost to the country at \$1,000,000,000 a year. Mr. Dowe estimates the number at present (1899) at 350,000. The cost to the country is probably \$1,300,000,000 a year.

The trusts will want to save as much of this large amount of money as possible, and will discharge about 300,000 of these, who will help to swell the vast army of the unemployed a few years hence.

But the labor-saving machine is the chief cause of many being thrown out of work. Just study these facts:

Spinning machines, operated by one operator and two girls, turn out more yarn than 11,000 old-time hand spinners could do. What an amazing increase this really is! Each worker turning out more yarn than 3,000 hand spinners, and yet getting deplorably small wages.

In weaving, one man now does as much work as ninety-five could do with the old hand loom.

One man tending a nail machine turns out as many nails as 1,000 men formerly did by hand.

Formerly it required a good workman to gin five pounds of cotton a day. Now two men with a machine turn out 4,000 pounds.

Two machines operated by two girls will now turn out 240,000 screws a day, while a few years ago 20,000 screws was the most that twenty skilled workmen could turn out in a day.

Formerly it took a quick worker to sew six pairs of shoes in a day. Now one man will sew 1,000 pairs a day with a machine. Who gets this extra wealth?

With match machines 300 girls will turn out as many matches as 8,000 men could formerly do.

In making wall paper one man does the work formerly requiring 100 men.

With a planing machine for turning out wood work for musical instruments one boy does the work formerly requiring twenty-five men.

In 1889 the Berlin Bureau of Statistics estimated the power capable of being exerted by the steam engines of the world as equivalent to 200,000,000 horse power, representing in men three times the entire population of the globe. It has very much increased since then.

Facts like these might be extended indefinitely. But every one knows that machinery has prodigiously increased the power of men to produce wealth.

In the United States steam does the work of 230,000,000 men, representing almost the entire present population of the globe, and we are harnessing waterfalls to elec-

tric motors at a rate that seems likely to leave even that aggregation out of sight.

Strikes and lock-outs throw thousands out of work; and they are becoming more numerous and larger all the time. Yet, as most strikes are of short duration, and the scene keeps shifting constantly from one part of the country to another, the fact is lost sight of that a large army is constantly out of work owing to strikes.

The mightiest factor of all in throwing thousands out of work is the Panic and Crisis. Without exception, all will agree to this; for the panic of 1893 is still vivid in the memory of the people; and the havoc it played will never be forgotten.

Some will say they do not believe there will be another such panic. I ask them why? I ask them have they any sure proof? I can adduce proof that there will be another panic, and that it will precede and largely cause the revolution of 1907. But I will discuss that later on, and for the present let us confine ourselves to the subject of the unemployed and how it is increased by panics.

But let us refresh our memories in regard to the subject. We may have permitted many facts to slip our mind. We will need them before long. The revolution of 1907 will be due largely to the same causes that existed in 1893.

In the midst of the last dread panic, *The Star and Kansan* printed the following:

"The unemployed in this country to-day number two

millions. Those dependent upon them probably number four times as many more.

"Perhaps you have heard this before. I want you to think about it until you realize what it means. It means that under 'the best government in the world,' with 'the best banking system the world ever saw,' and everything else at the top notch, and with unparalleled productions of food and every other comfort and luxury of existence, one-seventh of our population has been reduced to absolute beggary, as the only alternative to starvation. People are going hungry in sight of warehouses and elevators filled with grain that can't be sold for enough to pay the cost of raising. People are shivering and almost naked in the shadow of store rooms filled to bursting with clothing of every sort. People are cold and fireless, with hundreds of millions of tons of coal easily accessible in thousands of mines. And the shoemakers who are idle would be glad to go to work and make shoes for the men who mine the coal in exchange for fuel. So would the latter be glad to toil in the mines to get shoes. Likewise the half-clad farmer in Kansas, who is unable to sell his wheat to pay for the harvesting and threshing bills, would be delighted to exchange it with the men in the eastern factories who spin and weave the cloth he needs.

"It is not lack of natural resources that troubles the country to-day. It is not inability or unwillingness on the part of the two millions of idle men to labor and produce desirable and useful things. It is simply that the instru-

ments of production and the means of exchange are congested in the hands of a few. How unwholesome a state of affairs this is we are beginning to realize; and we shall understand it more and more fully as the congestion grows more severe. People are idle, cold and starving because they cannot exchange the products of their labor. In view of such results as this, is not our boasted nineteenth century civilization pretty near a dead failure? The unemployed in this country formed in ranks four abreast and six feet apart would make a line six hundred miles long. Those who depend upon them for subsistence would in the same order reach 2,400 miles. This army thus formed would extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific—from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate.

"If the intellect of the race is not capable of devising a better industrial system than this, we might as well admit that humanity is the greatest failure of the universe. (Yes, that is just where divine providence is leading; men must learn their own impotence and the true Master, just as every colt must be 'broken' before it is of value.) The most outrageous and cruel thing in all the ages, is the present attempt to maintain an industrial army to fight the battles of our plutocratic kings without making any provisions for its maintenance during the periods in which services are not needed."

The above was written during the period of the most serious depression incident to "tariff tinkering," and happily is not the normal condition. However, there is no

knowing when it may be repeated. Nevertheless, the Harrisburg Patriot, of August 21, '96, gives the following figures under the caption, "The Number of the Unemployed:

"There are 10,000 laborers out of work in Boston; in Worcester 7,000 are unemployed; in New Haven 7,000; in Providence 9,600; in New York city 100,000. Utica is a small city, but the unemployed number 16,000; in Paterson, N. J., one-half of the people are idle; in Philadelphia 15,000; in Baltimore 10,000; in Wheeling 3,000; in Cincinnati 6,000; in Cleveland 8,000; in Columbus 4,000; in Indianapolis 5,000; in Terre Haute 2,500; in Chicago 200,000; in Detroit 25,000; in Milwaukee 20,000; in Minneapolis 6,000; in St. Louis 80,000; in St. Joseph 2,000; in Omaha 2,000; in Butte City, Mont., 5,000; in San Francisco 15,000."

The California Advocate said:

"The assembling of the unemployed masses in our great cities in multitudinous thousands is a most gruesome spectacle, and their piteous cry for work or bread is being heard all over the land. It is the old unsolved problem of poverty, intensified by the unprecedented depression of business. Involuntary idleness is a constantly growing evil coincident with civilization. It is the dark shadow that steadily creeps after civilization, increasing in dimensions and intensity as civilization advances. Things are certainly in an abnormal condition when men are willing to work, want to work, and yet cannot find

work to do, while their very life depends upon work. There is no truth in the old saw that 'the world owes every man a living.' But it is true that the world owes every man a chance to earn his living. Many theories have been advanced and many efforts have been made to secure inalienable 'right to work' to every one willing to work; but all such attempts have hitherto ended in gloomy failure. He will indeed be a benefactor to mankind who shall successfully solve the problem how to secure to every willing worker some work to do, and thus rid mankind of the curse of involuntary idleness."

Another account describes how, in Chicago, a crowd of over four hundred unemployed men marched through the down-town streets, headed by one of their number carrying a pasteboard sign on which was scrawled the grim legend, "We Want Work." The next day they marched with many banners bearing the following inscriptions: "Live and Let Live," "We Want a Chance to Support Our Families," "Work or Bread," etc. An army of unemployed marched through San Francisco with banners on which were inscribed, "Thousands of Houses to Rent, and Thousands of People Homeless," "Hungry and Destitute," "Driven by the Lash of Hunger to Beg." "Get Off Our Backs and We Will Help Ourselves," etc.

Here is another:

"Newark, N. J., August 21.—Unemployed workingmen held a large parade to-day. At the head of the line marched a man with a large black flag, upon which in

white letters were the words: "Signs of the Times—I Am Starving Because He is Fat." Beneath was a picture of a large, well-fed man with a high hat, and beside him a starving workman."

Another journal, referring to the English Coal-miners' strike, said:

"The stories of actual distress, and even of starvation, are multiplying painfully throughout England, and the cessation of industries and the derangement of railways are assuming proportions of grave national calamity. . . .

. . . As might be expected, the real cause consists in the huge royalties that lessees have to pay for the ground to the landlords from whom they lease the mines. A considerable number of millionaires, whose coal royalties hang like mill-stones around the neck of the mining industries, are also prominent peers, and angry public consciousness puts the two things together with a snap. . . .

. . . Radical papers are compiling portentous lists of lords not unlike the lists of trusts in America, showing in their figures their monstrous levies on the earnings of the property of the country.

"The cry for bread goes up from the city. It is deeper, hoarser, broader than it has ever been. It comes from gnawing stomachs and weakened frames. It comes from men who tramp the streets searching for work. It comes from women sitting hopeless in bare rooms. It comes from children.

"In the city of New York the poor have reached straits

of destitution that have never before been known. Probably no living person understands how awful is the suffering, how terrible the poverty. No one person can see it all. No one's imagination can grasp it.

"Few persons who will read this can understand what it means to be without food. It is one of those things so frightful that it cannot be brought home to them."

The official figures of 1898, of the State Board of Charities, shows that one-third of the people of New York received some kind of assistance during that year. Later figures are not obtainable because the court of appeals limited the jurisdiction of the board. The report was so startling that the court thought it would prevent such revelations in the future; knowing, of course, that the public could be humbugged into believing that conditions were improving. When, as a matter of fact, the number of persons who receive help is growing larger.

The editor of *The Arena* says in his *Civilization Inferno*:

"The Dead Sea of want is enlarging its borders in every populous centre. The mutterings of angry discontent grow more ominous with each succeeding year. Justice denied the weak through the power of avarice has brought us face to face with a formidable crisis which may yet be averted if we have the wisdom to be just and humane; but the problem cannot longer be sneered at as inconsequential. It is no longer local; it affects and threatens the entire body politic. A few years ago one of

the most eminent divines in America declared that there was no poverty to speak of in this Republic. To-day no thoughtful person denies that this problem is of great magnitude. A short time since I employed a gentleman in New York to personally investigate the court records of the city that he might ascertain the exact number of warrants for evictions issued in twelve months. What was the result? The records showed the appalling fact that during the twelve months ending September 1, 1892, twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty warrants for eviction were issued in the city of New York.

"In a paper in the *Forum* of December, 1892, by Mr. Jacob Riis, on the special needs of the poor in New York, he says: 'For many years it has been true of New York that one-tenth of all who die in this great wealthy city are buried in the potter's field. Of the 382,530 interments recorded in the past decade, 37,966 were in the potter's field,' and Mr. Riis proceeds to hint at the fact known to all students of social conditions who personally investigate poverty in the great cities, that this potter's field gauge, terribly significant though it be, is no adequate measure by which to estimate the poverty problem of a great city."

The *Coming Nation* prints this:

"You will admit that new machines are rapidly displacing workmen. The claim that the making and caring for these new machines employs the number thus thrown out will not stand; for if that were true there would be no

gain in the use of machines. The fact stands out so prominently that hundreds of thousands of men are now idle because machines are doing the work they formerly did, that any man must recognize it, if he will think but a moment. These men out of work do not buy as many goods as when employed, and this decreases the demand for goods, and thus prevents many more workmen from being employed, increases the number out of work and stops more purchasing.

"What are you going to do with these unemployed? That prices of goods, as a whole, are being cheapened, does not give these men employment. There is no occupation open to them, for all occupations are glutted with men, for the same reason. You can't kill them (unless they strike), and there is nowhere for them to go. In all seriousness I ask, what are you going to do with them? Skilled farmers are bankrupting, so what show would these men have at that, even if they had land?

"These men are multiplying like leaves of the forest. Their numbers are estimated by millions. There is no prospect of many of them getting employment, or if they do, it is only to take the places of others now employed who would then be added to the out-of-works. You think, perhaps, that it is none of your concern what becomes of them, but, my dear sir, it is your concern, and you will realize it before many seasons. It is a subject that cannot be dismissed by turning on your heel and refusing to listen. The French people thought that, once upon a time,

but they learned differently, even if the present generation has forgotten the lesson. The present generation in the United States must solve this question, and will solve it in some way. It may be in peace and love and justice, or it may be by a man on horseback trampling down the rights of all, as you now carelessly see the rights of some trampled.

"The French were warned, but they could not listen because of the gaiety of royal rottenness. Will you listen? or will the present course be permitted to run unchecked until five or six millions are clamoring for bread or the oxide of iron? The trouble, when it comes, will be intensified in the United States a hundred-fold, because of the social conditions that have prevailed here for a century. The love of liberty has grown stalwart, nursed on a hatred of kings, tyrants and oppressors. No army or navy from the masses can be relied upon to shoot their own fathers and brothers at the beck or order of untitled or titled kings. Seeing what must result from a too prolonged idleness of millions, whose conditions will soon cement a bond of fellowship, do you not think you have some interest in the conditions they are producing? Would it not be better to find and apply a remedy, to employ these men, even in public workshops, than to have the finale?

"We know what the capitalists are doing: We see them preparing the munitions of war to rule the masses by force of arms. But they are foolish. They are wise only in their own conceits. They are adopting the tactics of






Coxey's Army.

The forerunner of the Army of the Revolution.

kings, and will be as chaff before the wind, by and by. All the fates are against their tactics. Kings, with greater armies than can be mustered to fight for capitalism here, are trembling before the steady growth of a higher civilization among the people, hurried on by the distress of this rapidly increasing army of out-of-works. Justice injures none, though it may shut off the privileges of robbers. Let us as citizens, solve and settle the problem: lawfully, not as partisans, but as citizens who think more of country than of party, and more of justice than the king's gold."

All of these facts bring back to mind the awful conditions that prevailed in 1893. They will be duplicated with interest. Listen! Every one remembers Coxey's Army. How it was laughed at and treated as a joke. But imagine another similar army! Imagine times vastly harder and the size greatly increased. When Coxey's Army strode into Washington it was laughed and sneered at; but this army will receive the moral support and encouragement of 70,000,000 people. Will this time ever come? I think so. I am prepared to prove it. After you have studied and analyzed each element at work you will be forced to admit the same.



CHAPTER XI.

THE ARISTOCRACY.

The Growing Class Feeling—An Arrogant Plutocracy
Trampling Upon Manhood and Holding in Contempt
the People Who Produce Their Wealth—
Revelations of Heartlessness, Snobbery
and Extravagance Among the 400.

I could not better introduce this subject than by quoting an article from the New York Journal:

"Mr. Reginald Vanderbilt, son of the railroad family, played roulette one night at Mr. Canfield's gambling house in Forty-fourth street, in the city of New York, and lost \$125,000. HE ROSE WITH A SMILE OF GOOD NATURED INDIFFERENCE.

"Thus briefly the news report tell one incident of life in a great city, where the very rich and the very poor dwell together in harmony.

"A man with six children and a wife gets up at day-break—his wife has been up before him to prepare some thin coffee and fat bacon.

"He takes his heavy crowbar and starts out for a distant



After losing \$125,000.00 Reginald Vanderbilt arose from the gambling table with a smile of indifference.



point on the New York Central Railroad track, where he has been ordered to work. With the heavy crowbar and other tools he works all day long, tamping down the stone ballast under the ties.

"He goes home at dark, having earned one hundred and twenty-five cents—a dollar and a quarter.

"Mr. Reginald Vanderbilt, whose family is made prosperous by the labor of tens of thousands of men, arises at 10 or 11 o'clock, walks on Fifth Avenue, lunches at Delmonico's, rides in the park, dines leisurely, goes to the theatre and drifts into Canfield's.

"He nods to the croupier, who, with his apparatus all ready to swindle, is most affable.

"A small ivory ball, spun by nervous fingers, swings around the hollow wheel. It strikes, jumps, rattles, settles down, and one play is over.

"For an hour or two it rattles on. Then Mr. Vanderbilt goes away, having spent the day satisfactorily. HE HAS LOST AT GAMBLING \$125,000.

"He never EARNED a dollar in his life.

"The gambling amusement of one evening represents the labor for one day of 100,000 men.

"Is Reginald Vanderbilt a bad, vicious boy? Not at all. He simply takes what our stupid social organization gives him—the labor of other men. He tries to get what pleasure he can out of life and what excitement he can for his nerves.

"Not young Mr. Vanderbilt is to blame—nor can you

justly blame the swindling vampire who owns the gambling house. Both of them are products of actual conditions. Both are even useful. For the little gambling story which leaks out is a splendid lesson. It impresses on men's minds the horrid injustice of turning over the earnings of a hundred thousand men, the railroad wealth of a great state, to a foolish, dissipated boy. It impresses even on the dullest mind the gross stupidity of a system which compels the many to work and suffer that the few may be dissipated, ruining themselves while they deprive others."

Mr. Reginald Vanderbilt is typical of a class that has sprung up in this free country of ours within recent years. America, supposed to be the home of freedom, the haven our forefathers sought, to escape the old world aristocracy, has reared an aristocracy more powerful and rich than Europe ever dreamed of. With money to spend like water, every luxury the world affords is theirs. Banquets and feasts such as kings of old never thought of are at their command. Comforts and luxuries they have, such as emperors and monarchs never thought possible. The very stables of the rich are such palaces of loveliness that millions of Americans would gladly exchange their homes for these.

Compare these two news items:
TWO PICTURES OF THE "BEST GOVERNMENT ON
EARTH."

HANNA'S HORSES LIVE IN LUXURY.

In the stable are seventeen horses. Their stalls are all oak, trimmed with iron gratings and brass. On each post is a brass ball ten inches in diameter and a straw skirt made by hand in many colors. Back of the stalls is a long hand-made straw mat, which looks like a hedge, the inner edge being fastened down, while the other ends of the straws are not secured and stick up in the air.

In a rack at the end of the stable are countless embroidered towels. Each time a horse is groomed a towel is used to clean the coat thoroughly. A towel is used but once.

In the harness room, which is surrounded by plate glass, are sets of harness for each vehicle and horse. In a case in this room are hundreds of red, white and yellow ribbons, won as prizes at horse shows and races.

The entire barn is lighted by electricity, even the hay loft. The coachmen's quarters are on the second floor and are fitted up in fine style. In the center of the barn, about ten feet from the ground floor is the office or observatory. It is handsomely furnished and surrounded by glass. A person sitting in this room can view all parts of the barn. This is where Hanna entertains his friends when they inspect the barns.—Cleveland Press, March 24.

THIRD TIME TO THE POOR HOUSE.

"My God, do all roads lead to the poor house?" asked feeble Matt Raetzel, eighty-three, late Monday evening, as for the third time in his luckless career he left the city dispensary for the home of the poverty stricken. He carried with him four small market baskets containing his entire earthly belongings.

"I never expect to get out this time," he said with a piteous tremor in his voice, "and so I have gathered up everything to take with me to my last home."

Raetzel has been living at 305 S. Third street with his wife. For days they were without food of any kind. They were too feeble to help themselves and too proud to inform the neighbors of their condition. Finally the wife started out to find relief. She never returned, and on Monday, when the cold spell brought another of poverty's woes, the old man decided to seek a home among the city paupers. Twice before he went to the poor house, but got out only to return.—St. Louis Chronicle, April 2.

The newspapers abound with descriptions of fashionable weddings, balls and banquet at which the so-called "upper crust" of society appear in costly robes and rare jewels. One lady at a ball in Paris, recently, it is said, wore \$1,600,000 worth of diamonds. The New York World in August 1896 gave a picture of an American lady arrayed in diamonds and other jewels valued at \$1,000,000; and she does not belong to the very uppermost social strata either. The daily press tell of the lavish expenditure of

thousands of dollars in providing these banquets—for choice wines, floral decorations, etc. They tell of the palaces erected for the rich, many of them costing \$50,000, and some as much as \$1,500,000. They tell of "Dog Socials" at which brutes are fed on dainties at great expense, tended by their "nurses." They tell of \$10,000 paid for a dessert service, \$6,000 for two artistic flower-jars, \$50,000 for two rose-colored vases. They tell that an English duke paid \$350,000 for a horse. They tell how a Boston woman buried her husband in a coffin costing \$50,000. They tell that another "lady" expended \$5,000 in burying a pet poodle dog. They tell that New York millionaires pay as high as \$800,000 for a single yacht.

The California Christian Advocate, commenting upon one of the fashionable balls of New York City, says:

"The lavish luxury and dazzling extravagance displayed by the wealthy Greeks and Romans of 'ye olden times' is a matter of history. Such reckless display is beginning to make its appearance in what is called fashionable society in this country. One of our exchanges tells of a New York lady who spent \$125,000 in a single season in entertaining. The character and value of the entertainments may be judged from the fact that she taught society how . . . to freeze Roman punch in the heart of crimson and yellow tulips, and how to eat terrapin with gold spoons out of silver canoes. Other entertainers decked their tables with costly roses, while one of 'the four hundred' is said to have spent \$50,000 on a single entertainment. Such lavish

expenditure to such poor purposes is sinful and shameful, no matter how large a fortune one may possess."

Messiah's Herald commented as follows:

"One hundred and forty-four social autocrats, headed by an aristocrat, held a great ball. Royalty never eclipsed it. It was intensely exclusive. Wine flowed like water. Beauty lent her charms. Neither Mark Antony nor Cleopatra ever rolled in such gorgeousness. It was a collection of millionaires. The wealth of the world was drained for pearls and diamonds. Necklaces of gems costing \$200,000 and downward emblazoned scores of necks. The dance went on amid Aladdin splendors. Joy was unconfined. While it was going on, says a journal, 100,000 starving miners in Pennsylvania were scouring the roads like cattle in search of forage, some of them living on cats, and not a few committing suicide to avoid seeing their children starve. Yet one necklace from the Metropolitan ball would have rescued all these from hunger. It was one of the 'great social events' of a nation called Christian; but what a contrast! And there is no remedy for it. Thus it will be 'till He come.'"

J. R. Buchanan in the Arena, speaking of the heartless extravagance of the wealthy, says:

"Its criminality is not so much in the heartless motive as in its wanton destruction of happiness and life to achieve a selfish purpose. That squandering wealth in ostentation and luxury is a crime becomes very apparent by a close examination of the act. There would be no

harm in building a \$700,000 stable for his horses, like a Syracuse millionaire, or in placing a \$50,000 service on the dinner table, like a New York Astor, if money were as free as air and water; but every dollar represents an average day's labor. Hence the \$700,000 stable represents the labor of 1,000 men for two years and four months. It also represents 700 lives; for \$1,000 would meet the cost of the first ten years of a child, and the cost of the second ten years would be fully repaid by his labor. The fancy stable, therefore, represents the physical basis of 700 lives, and affirms that the owner values it more highly, or is willing that 700 should die that his vanity might be gratified."

The following very interesting bit of information, quoted in the *National View*, is from Ward McAllister, lately a great New York society leader:

"The average annual living expenses of a family of average respectability, consisting of husband and wife and three children, amounts to \$146,945, itemized as follows: Rent of city house, \$29,000; of country house, \$14,000; expenses of country house, \$6,000; indoor servants' wages, \$8,016; household expenses, inclusive of servants' wages, \$18,954; his wife's dressing, \$10,000; his own wardrobe, \$2,000; children's clothing and pocket money, \$4,500; three children's schooling, \$3,600; entertaining by giving balls and dances, \$7,000; entertaining at dinner, \$6,600; opera box, \$4,500; theater and supper parties after theater, \$1,200; papers and magazines, \$100; jeweler's

running account, \$1,000; stationery, \$300; books, \$500; wedding presents and holiday gifts, \$1,400; pew in church, \$300; club dues, \$425; physician's bill, \$800; dentist's bill, \$500; transportation of household to country and return, \$250; traveling in Europe, \$9,000; cost of stables, \$17,000."

A San Francisco Journal, Industry, recently contained the following comment on the extravagance of two wealthy men of this country:

"The Wanamaker dinner in Paris, and the Vanderbilt dinner at Newport, costing together at least \$40,000, perhaps a good deal more, are among the signs of the times. Such things presage a change in this country. This, which is only typical of a hundred more cases of like ostentatious money show, may well be likened to a feast in Rome before the end came, and the luxury in France that a century ago was the precursor of a revolution. The money spent annually by Americans abroad, mostly for luxury and worse, is estimated at a third as much as our National revenue."

And, furthermore, these people are not elevated by their great wealth. Many of them are idlers, with no useful occupation in life. Instead of spending their time and money in improving themselves and their fellowmen, their chief occupation is that of seeking amusement. Self-gratification has become their sole aim and object in life; their second nature. The daily papers are always reciting their escapades.



Swell Newport society dining a monkey.

All remember the remarkable proceedings at Newport, when swell society dined a monkey. It is unnecessary to recount the details of this disgusting affair. It is still fresh in the public mind. Suffice it to say these ideas and tastes are degenerate, and take the place of refined and cultured ones. Such people are ladies and gentlemen in name only. They lack even simple dignity.

Though aristocrats, they are forfeiting the respect of honest people. They merit the contempt of all good citizens.

How can any one look up to them? They set no worthy examples, though possessed of every opportunity to do so.

The Philadelphia Press some time ago published the following:

"Danger Ahead!—There is no doubt about it that New York is divided into two great classes, the very rich and the very poor. The middling classes of reputable, industrious, fair-to-do people are gradually disappearing, going up in the scale of worldly wealth or down into poverty and embarrassment. It seems unquestioned that between these classes exists, and is rapidly growing, under intentional fostering of evil men, a distinct, pronounced, malignant hatred. There are men here who are worth \$10,000,000 and \$20,000,000, of whom you know nothing. I know one lady, living in a magnificent house, whose life is as quiet as that of a minister should be, who has given away not less than \$3,000,000 in five years, whose benefactions prior to her death will reach not less than \$7,000,000, who has

in her home paintings, statuary, diamonds, precious stones, exquisite specimens of gold and silver, with costly works of every imaginable art, an inside estimate of which is \$1,500,000, and she is not as rich as many of her neighbors by several million dollars. There are men here who twenty years ago sold clothes on Chatham street, who to-day live at an annual expense of \$100,000, who wear jewels costing in reasonable stores \$25,000.

"Come with me in a Madison avenue car any day, rain or shine, between the hours of ten o'clock in the morning and 5 or 6 in the afternoon, and I will find you car after car closely packed with ladies in whose ears are diamonds worth from \$500 to \$5,000 each, on whose ungloved hands, red and fluffy, sparkle fortunes. Walk with me from Stewart's old store, at the corner of Ninth street and Broadway to Thirtieth street and Broadway any day. I do not mean Sundays, holidays, or special occasions, but all times, and I will show you on block after block women in sealskin circulars down to their heels, worth from \$500 to \$1,000 each, with diamond earrings and with diamond finger rings, and other precious stones as well, carrying in their hands dainty pocketbooks stuffed with money. They represent the new rich with which New York is filling up.

"On that same street, at that same time, I can show you men to whom a dollar would be a fortune, whose trousers, torn and disgraceful in their tatters, are held about their pinched waists by ropes or twine or pins, whose stockingless feet shuffle along the pavement in shoes so ragged that

they dare not lift them from the pavement, whose faces are freckled, whose beards are long and straggling, as is their hair, while their reddening hands taper at the nail-like claws. How long before those claws will fasten on the newly rich? Make no mistake about it, the feeling's born, the feeling is growing, and the feeling, sooner or later, will break forth.

"Only last night I walked through Fourteenth street, on which there are but few residences left, and in front of one, leading from the door to the curbstone, was a canopy, under which charmingly attired ladies, accompanied by their escorts, went from their carriages to the open door, through which floods of light and sounds of music came. I stood with the crowd, a big crowd, a moment, and there was born this idea of an inevitable outbreak unless something is done, and speedily done, to do away with the prejudice which not only exists, but is intentionally fostered, against the very rich by the very poor. It would make you shudder to hear the way the women spoke. Envy, jealousy, malignant ferocity, every element needed, was there. All that is wanted is a leader."

The world is contrasting with the horrid conditions of the Sweater System of human slavery, and with the miseries of the vast army of people out of work, and another vast army of underpaid workers, the luxury and extravagance of immense wealth, as did a London journal some time ago—thus:

"A Millionaire's Modest Home.—We learn from New

York that Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, the New York millionaire and railway king, has just opened his new palace with a grand ball. This modest home, which is to shelter about ten people during six months of the year, and to remain closed during the other six, stands at the corner of Fifty-seventh street and Fifth avenue, and has cost its owner £1,000,000. It is of Spanish design outside, built of grey stone, with red facings, turrets and battlements. It is three stories high with a lofty attic. The ball room is the largest private ball room in New York, being 75 feet long by 50 feet wide, decorated in white and gold, Louis XIV. style. The ceiling cost a fortune, and is made in the form of a double cone, covered with painted nymphs and cupids. Round the cornice are delicately modeled flowers, each with an electric light in its heart, while an immense crystal chandelier hangs from the centre. The walls on the night of the opening ball were covered from floor to ceiling with natural flowers, at a cost of £1,000; and the entertainment is said to have cost the host £5,000. Adjoining the mansion is the most expensive garden for its size in the world, for although it is only the size of an ordinary city lot, the sum of £70,000 was paid for it, and a house which had cost £25,000 to build was torn down to make room for the few flower beds."

When one contrasts this wealth of extravagant luxury with the thousands of homeless and poverty stricken, he is constrained to exclaim, "What are we coming to!" "Where will it end!"

Do these people ever stop to think of the poor? Do they ever pity the homeless, despised tramp? This is how they think of and pity these homeless creatures:

First. The New York Herald says, "The best meal to give to a tramp is a leaden one."

Second. Chicago Tribune says, "The simplest plan, probably, when one is not a member of the Humane Society, is to put a little strychnine or arsenic in the meat or other supplies furnished tramps."

Third. Scott, the railroad king, says, "Give them the rifle diet for a few days, and see how they will like that kind of bread."

I quote the Appeal to Reason.

"Mrs. Chauncey M. Depew, the charming young wife of the aged New York Senator, has written for the newspapers some advice to American women. After announcing that she has just brought over twelve trunks full of brand new Paris-made gowns, she tells American women that they, too, should patronize the dress-makers of Paris. And now all you common clodhoppers who work on Mr. Depew's railroads and furnish him with the money to buy Parisian gowns, go and do likewise. Your wives would be pleased to wear 'em, I feel sure."

Again that paper has the following:

"'American workmen eat too much, especially too much meat. They dress too well. There is too much lace curtain about their houses.'

"Thus spoke Judge Simon E. Baldwin, who has the

honor to disgrace the professorship of constitutional law at Yale. This man wants the whipping post revived and favors more summary trials. He is as rabid as Funston, who would rather see the men in his country who are opposed to war convicted and hanged as traitors than to see the death of a single soldier whose business is to kill his fellow man. This eminent professor lives in an atmosphere of refinement. He denies that to the workmen who have made his life of ease possible. He has all the books he needs for the prosecution of his work. He would deny that privilege to the workmen who have supplied him with books. He wears good clothes that fit well, and are kept clean seven days in the week. He wants to take from the workmen the privilege of wearing good clothes at any time, at work or on Sunday. He has what he chooses to provide for his own table. He tells the workmen that they eat too much, and ought to be satisfied with what he, the great professor, advises them to eat.

"And those lace curtains that the worker's wife saved pennies and denied herself the necessities of life in order to buy and beautify her cheap and miserable home; that little pleasure she has in seeing the sun light fall through those curtains in spots upon her child as it plays before the window, that too must be foresworn because the eminent professor of Yale has decided that the lives of the workers are too happy, they want too many of the good things of life. Perhaps he is afraid the workers will begin to try to live as comfortably as he does; and maybe he

fears that they will want their children to go to Yale and other colleges in the country. Knowing as he does that education unfits the workmen to live in filth, perhaps he fears that lace curtains are evidence of the fact that the workers are getting tired of producing the good things of life for such as he to revel in, and that it is time for him, the great professor of constitutional law at Yale, to advise these workmen to go back to their dingy homes, live on the diet that he thinks best for them, tear down the expensive decorations that their hard-working wives have made, and then report to him for further orders.

"But the workers are not going to dress like negro slaves were compelled to dress in order to please this self-appointed law-giver of the race; they are not going to be satisfied with adulterated food; and they are going to move out of the tenement districts one of these days and have comfortable dwellings with all the decorations that they please to make. The people will do this, Mr. Professor; they will speak, and their will, not yours, will be the law."

The total capitalization of the companies controlled by king Morgan is placed at \$5, 210,993,386. As all the gold of the world, coined and uncoined, amounts to only \$4,841,000,000 it would seem that the phrase, "Morgan owns the earth" is not only true but that he has got the earth is debt to him for a few odd millions.

The following is taken from *The Coming Nation*:

"THE WORLD AT HIS FEET.

"Mr. Morgan and six other American citizens have now become more powerful than any Congress or Parliament in the world.

"Fourteen steamship lines and 44 railroad lines are theirs.

"On land a mileage of 108,500 and on sea a tonnage of 1,200,000 are in their control.

"Three hundred of the largest steamships of the world and 30,000 of the best equipped passenger and freight trains take orders from them.

"The railway mileage is greater than the combined mileage of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Spain, Holland and Belgium. And more than 300 vessels, which will sail under its orders, cannot be duplicated from the merchant marine of every ocean.

"A world-wide transportation trust has long been Mr. Morgan's dream. English newspapers are making comically pitiful pleas to Morgan to let England come into the new trust, not as an annex to America, but as an equal partner.

"The fact that Mr. Morgan is addressed in tones of supplication shows that he is absolute master. Not Alexander, in all his glory; not Cæsar Augustus, not even Napoleon, with all his mighty armies, was such a conquerer as J. P. Morgan with his little "yes" and "no" that makes or un-makes trusts.

"NO KING IS SO POWERFUL.

"No king is one-tenth so powerful as Morgan. Edward VII, Emperor William, Nicholas of Russia—any one of these is a pigmy in real power compared with Morgan. By nationality an American, he is in fact a citizen of all countries.

"Almost every kind of a man who labors works for Morgan through some of his companies.

"Rudyard Kipling, Lew Wallace—all the geniuses who in the fine frenzy dash off poetry and write stories for Harper's, are working for Morgan. The patient scientists are digging out minute facts for Morgan to scatter to the world. The artist with pencil and brush draws and paints, and Morgan pays him.

"MORE THAN ALL THE GOLD.

"So absolute has he become that while he is personally worth perhaps not more than a hundred millions of dollars, corporations over which he has control possess more wealth than there is gold on the earth.

"There are in the whole known world about 1,320,000,000 human beings. J. P. Morgan controls enough to give each \$4.

"More than a million men are employed by the companies Mr. Morgan controls. This means that five million men, women and children are dependent on him for a living—or rather that five million persons contribute to his comfort."

Again, The Appeal to Reason says:

"Eight billions of dollars worth of wealth were produced by the brain and muscle workers of the United States last year. The producers received in wages and salaries two billions of dollars. Where are the six billions?"

"Mr. Carnegie says that 'Capitalists do not care a fig for the flag.' They will sell the nation to any foreigner who will pay the price. They will sell its flag to any bidder. They will sell its legislation to any trust or combination. They not only will, but have been and are still doing it. 'Patriotism' is for the common people, while the monopolists loot the nation and enslave the masses."

Other writers say:

We commit our sins, these days, on a large scale. That is the difference between ancient and modern slavery. Where the old world took men one by one and apportioned them to individual owners, we take the whole mass of people and make them slaves to a class.—John C. Kenworthy.

Bishop Potter, in speaking of the caste spirit that is ruining the world, uses these potent words: "A caste of capitalists, separated by practically inseparable barriers from a caste of laborers, means SOCIAL ANARCHY AND INDUSTRIAL WAR."

Here, then, we have facts from various sources. Here we have also the opinions of some of the best talent; the best thinkers and writers in the country. These views are not entertained by one man; they are held by countless

thousands. In short, it tells of actual conditions prevailing in our country.

Is it any wonder the gap is widening between the two classes of America? Is it any wonder they antagonize each other?

The workers and the toilers are the poor classes. The idlers, the riotous livers, are the aristocrats; who own the industries of the country; who own the other class. As the hold of aristocracy grows stronger, the discontent of the poorer classes increases. Nothing else could be expected. Slowly it is dawning on the minds of the masses that a system exists under which a few own everything, though they toil not, neither do they spin; nor do they think of the morrow, except as to the new pleasures and extravagances it may bring. They rob and fleece the toilers of all they produce, and in turn cordially despise the slaves for being made of such coarse clay. To work is disgraceful; to earn an honest dollar beneath them.

But the people are becoming aroused. The masses have begun to think. It is not a calm, cool reasoning, but a bitter hatred and resentment. Some have noticed it; some have not. But it is there, and, like a smoldering volcano, remains suppressed and quiet for a time. But the explosion will come. Any extraordinary disturbance may bring this about. The time will come; not by one agency, but by a score of them acting simultaneously.

Is not the subject under discussion a strong revolutionary force? Verily it will have much to do in bringing about the final catastrophe.

CHAPTER XII.

POVERTY.

Proof Positive That Poverty is Increasing in Spite of the
Aggregate Increase in Wealth—A Few Are Getting
All While the Many Suffer for Necessities—
Facts Almost Beyond Belief.

It is remarkable that in this advanced age, with the means of production and transportation so highly developed, such a thing as poverty should exist. But it does, and is very widespread and common.

America has broad acres of fertile lands. It abounds in rich valleys, forests, hills and rivers. Its wealth in mines is inestimable. And when all this is augmented by its rich cities, by steam, electricity and many mechanical devices, we are constrained to say, "Surely God, Nature and Science have made bountiful provision for man. None need want for aught." Alas! That such cannot be true!

Yet we cannot find fault with God or Nature. The curse of poverty must be charged to "man's inhumanity to man."

I quote the following from an exchange. It says:

"A more pathetic incident in real life is seldom told in print than the following, which is vouched for by a kindergarten teacher who resides in Brooklyn, N. Y.

"A little girl who attends a kindergarten on the east side, the poorest district in New York City, came to the school one morning recently, thinly clad and looking pinched and cold. After being in the warm kindergarten a while the child looked up into the teacher's face and said earnestly:

" 'Miss C——, do you love God?'

" 'Why, yes,' said the teacher.

" 'Well, I don't,' quickly responded the child with great earnestness and vehemence, 'I hate Him.'

"The teacher, thinking this a strange expression to come from a child whom she had tried hard to teach that it was right to love God, asked for an explanation.

" 'Well,' said the child, 'He makes the wind blow, and I haven't any warm clothes; and He makes it snow, and my shoes have holes in them, and He makes it cold, and we haven't any fire at home, and He makes us hungry, and mamma hadn't any bread for our breakfast.' "

Commenting it says: "If we consider the perfection of God's material bounties to the children of earth, it is hard, after reading this story, to regard with patience the complacency of rich blasphemers who, like the innocent little girl, charge the miseries of poverty to God."

The following is taken from The News-Dispatch:

"J. Pierpont Morgan's dog, His Nibs, value \$3,000, was buried today. The burial was to take place the day before, but then Morgan was prevented from attending. The corpse of the dog lay in a casket lined with silk. The burial place is situated on one of the most beautiful spots on the banks of the Hudson. Many mourners attended the burial services, as the deceased had been a great favorite in the Morgan household. It is understood that upon the grave will be erected a Maltese cross.—News dispatch of July 17.

"A few days before this burial of the dog the New York Times brought the following local news:

"There was a baby born yesterday morning in Denver. A baby whose father is at the front fighting for his country. The little creature who came into the world yesterday morning is just twelve inches long and weighs only four pounds.

"There were no clothes waiting for it; not a shred. And there are none yet. Last night the baby was still wrapped in a piece of flannel. When this tiny daughter of a soldier came into the world her mother lay upon a feather tick, with not even a sheet under her. The tick was filthy and sour, but there was no money to buy another, and if it were taken away the woman would have lain on bare slats. She had neither sheets nor pillow cases on her bed of pain, and over her was an old comfort that had been taken from the children's bed to put over her. The children, three of them, lay upon a straw tick,

with never a shred of bedding under or over them. This is the condition that one soldier has left behind him, and this is the picture that has haunted him on the blue waters of the Pacific. Sad features of the picture can be duplicated in many cases among the families of the boys in blue. Grim want stalks among them. Empty larders greet their eyes, and the bitter alternative of starvation or public charity stare them in the face.

"How the powers that benefit by this war are using their soldiers is seen in the employment of cheap Chinese seamen on government transports and Chinese slave labor in the manufacture of soldiers' uniforms. Had this soldier's wife applied for work on uniforms, she would have been bluntly informed that the contractors were attending to it; and they are—for the benefit of the contractors and those who let the contracts.—Free Society."

The following taken from *The Appeal to Reason* tells of an actual occurrence at Cleveland, O.:

"HE STARVED TO DEATH.

"A man was picked up in Cleveland, O., a few days ago from a snow bank in which he had fallen and because of starvation had been unable to lift himself up, so he died. It was near the new Seneca street bridge; and when the workmen gathered around they recognized in the corpse a man who had been looking in vain for work. The superintendent had told him that he might have something in a day or so. An old story. The unknown had no money; and as one of the workmen shared his lunch with him the

day before he was found dead, he told of a wife and children depending upon him; his emaciated face grew sad as he said he had no money for them. His clothes were rough and threadbare, his shoes being worn so that his feet touched the ground, or rather the snow. He was picked up tenderly by the workmen and placed in a dead wagon and sent to the morgue.

"Think of it! In Senator Hanna's home; right at the door of him who promised a full dinner pail to every one if the Republicans won, a man starved to death because he could not find work. Maybe the man was shiftless; perhaps he was, but he was looking for work, and we are told that prosperity is stalking about the country, just running right into everybody's way, that you have to hustle to keep out of the way of work, and that if you are not careful a job will force itself onto you whether you want it or not."

The following is from St. Louis Labor:

"An excellent example of man's value under capitalism was shown last week on one of the fashionable thoroughfares just west of Grand avenue. The day was one of the coldest of the cold week, and the few persons of that district that were compelled to be out were hurrying along wrapped up in furs.

"The Humane Society ambulance was drawn up in front of one of the houses and a number of well dressed men and boys were putting a sick horse into it.

"A mattress was placed on the floor of the ambulance,

and great care was taken to arrange the door so that its head might rest comfortably.

"Quite a crowd had gathered and many expressions of sympathy were sent forth to the poor dumb creature.

"As I started on I heard the notes of a bugle, and about half a block away I saw a poor one-legged man, thinly clad, blowing a bugle for the few pennies that passers-by might give.

"The bare hands that held the bugle were chapped and bleeding.

"The ambulance drove away and the crowd that had gathered passed on, laughing and talking by their poor outcast brother with the bugle. Who would claim kinship? not they.

"The vile capitalist system that turns out hundreds of the same kind of unfortunates every day, disabled in their mills, factories and other profit-making hells, or when fighting in their wars, could find no more use for him.

"Why should they bother about him, when there are thousands of able-bodied men ready to take his place at even lower wages, in the desperate fight for bread.

"The Humane Society that seems so affected by the sight of a dumb animal in pain, do not see their brother in the next block.

"To get another horse, about fifty dollars has to be expended, while for the asking they can get a thousand human lives, willing to be bound in chains, far worse than that—the slave bonds that can be severed in an instant by

the capitalist, when the life is of no more profit to him, but which make the capitalist slave willing, yes, anxious to lay down his life that his family may get bread enough to keep them from actual starvation."

"MEN WITH FAMILIES WORK FOR BOYS' WAGES.

"Men with families, says the Philadelphia Evening Telegraph, "are employed as bottle blowers at boys' wages in the George Jonas Glass company at the little hamlet of Minotola, N. J. They live in houses owned by the company, to whom they pay rent; and they are compelled to trade at the company store on the cash book system; they are compelled to contribute toward the support of the preacher; they are prohibited under pain of discharge from meeting together to plan means for throwing off the shackles that bind them in the bitterest kind of slavery. Children much below the legal age of 12 years are employed; and unless a man has two boys whom he will place at work in the factory he cannot secure employment; and if he is fortunate enough to have two little children whom he is willing to turn over to his employer he will be permitted to go to work at apprentice wages.

"Slavery is a mild word to use in describing the condition of the workers in Minotola. The entire town belongs to the company and the employes are not allowed to walk on the company's grounds after being discharged. One man had to walk down the railroad track in order to get to his home, where his wife was so ill that she could not be moved from the company house in compliance with





the order to get out. And all of this is going on in a few hours' ride from the nation's capital; where lackeys cringe and crawl before the very men who have caused all this suffering of the poor."

The following story is enough to freeze the blood with horror:

CHILD SHOT FOR BEGGING BREAD.

The past winter (exact date has slipped my mind and I have mislaid my notebook) a white child went to a back door in the city of Birmingham, Ala., and begged for food. This is unlawful, as the hungry child probably knew. When he stepped back into the alley, a policeman shouted to the little chap and like any other child who had done that which he knew was punishable, he feared the officer and ran from him. The blue-coated brute shot the boy dead. If he had been a negro child, there would have been the assertion that this was another case of race hatred; but we do not hear it cited as an example of the hatred of the millions of capital for those who are poor! There is too much of this warping of events to make them fit preconceived ideas. This eleven-year-old child was killed by a policeman "in discharge of his duty," so the officer did not lose his position on the force and there was no lynching. One can but hope that the quick death of the murdered boy was easier than the slower one by means of starvation.—W. S. Abbott, Oak, Cal.

That crowds are always hungry in the large cities is attested every Christmas by the thousands of poor who flock

to the big charity dinners given by the newspapers, lodges, churches, etc. The day after Christmas the Chicago papers published the following:

"Between 11 o'clock in the morning and 9 o'clock at night 10,000 men and boys and about 100 women ate platesful of turkey and potatoes and drank cup after cup of steaming hot coffee in the old Waverly Theater. This is what they ate and drank:

"4,500 pounds of meat, chiefly turkey.

"125 bushels of potatoes.

"4,000 loaves of bread.

"1 barrel of gravy.

"2 barrels of cranberry sauce.

"150 gallons of pickles.

"500 gallons of milk.

"150 pounds of good coffee.

"In the whole crowd of 10,000 forlorn, hungry people the police failed to discover a single professional crook. After the first 700, who were mostly from cheap lodging and barrel houses, had been fed, **THE CROWD WAS MADE UP CHIEFLY OF MECHANICS AND LABORING MEN, WHO WERE HUNGRY AND OUT OF WORK.**"

Of the ten thousand, nine thousand and three hundred were mechanics and laborers who were hungry and out of work! That is quite a different story to what the same daily newspapers, in their servility to wealth and power, have been trying to have the people believe. They didn't

intend to give the lie to their untrue and bombastic claims; they were just caught off their guard and may be expected to prostitute their calling more recklessly than ever to make up for it.

St. Louis, as well as all the large cities, has these Christmas dinners, given to the hungry thousands by well-meaning and charitable people. It is a blessing that they are remembered, yet the question will come, why is this necessary? Why do we have so many poor? Whose fault is it? Commenting on this, St. Louis Labor, a paper for working people, says:

**"THEIR CHRISTMAS DINNER UNEQUALLED IN
THE DAYS OF ROME.**

"The last Sunday's edition of one of our great dailies contained a very interesting article on the 'Millionaires of St. Louis.' It enumerated some eighty or more and proudly declared that their wealth proved the wonderful prosperity of St. Louis.

"This, notwithstanding 10,000 people had eaten a 'charity' dinner on Christmas Day. While the article in itself might not attract so much attention, when it is placed in comparison with the other item, it shows only too plainly the lie of its 'prosperity' talk.

"The Post-Dispatch organized the Christmas dinner, and patted itself on the back with such headlines as 'Not a Hungry Person in St. Louis on Christmas Day.'

"The Post-Dispatch can play its own horn and write its own eulogies, but there still remains the fact that though

they fed 10,000 persons on Christmas Day, they were hungry the next. It is cheap charity, indeed, which will starve a man 364 days in order to give him a sumptuous banquet on the remaining day of the year. Those who prate of prosperity had better place themselves in the positions of these people. Ten thousand people fed by charity in a city of 600,000 inhabitants. Rome, in its height, did not support a larger number. Romans thought that they, too, were prosperous, but theirs was all on the surface; it was confined to the ruling class. And as soon as opportunity offered the robbed and despoiled population of Rome turned on their despoilers, sacked their homes, ruined their villas and burned their city. A similar fate awaits America, if steps are not taken to avert it.

"We cannot continue to feed 10,000 starving people while 80 millionaires revel in the wealth which they have robbed from those they now regard as beggars."

After careful investigation, The New York Sun concludes that 40,000 working women in that city are receiving wages so low that they are compelled to accept charity or starve.

Volumes might be filled with facts similar to those cited, and still all would not be told. The American nation is learning these facts and knows them to be true. Any one may verify the facts, and they have been proven over and over again.

And yet there are those whose perverted ideas of justice

and pity lead them to such erratic expressions that we are prone to doubt their sanity.

Edmond Kelly in his book says: "There is no longer any reason for distinguishing between the criminal and pauper."

There you have it; if a man is poor, arrest him and put him in jail. Proclaim Captain Kidd as chief of saints. Erase from the calendar of the great such names as poor Isaiah, poor Jesus, poor Paul, poor Socrates, poor Dante, and look with respect upon the ages that produced and yet neglected to have them punished.

Poor teachers, reformers, authors, inventors and workers all to be condemned as criminals, and presumably, the rich and unscrupulous, who have extorted on the poor, made life difficult for them, are to be recognized as the real benefactors of the race.

Some other remarkable views are also held, as instance the following:

"POVERTY A BULWARK OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"Harper's Weekly of March 1st closes an article on the 'Worst of Being Poor,' with these words: 'As poverty is one of the bulwarks of the constitution we cannot guard it too carefully, or too vigilantly oppose any scheme tending to undermine it. But we may all fitly join in trying to lessen the undue apprehension which it inspires.' The writer seems to be afraid that prophets will arise who will try to abolish want itself unless the fear of want is abolished by those who live in luxury. He thinks that

poverty is a good incentive to make men work for starvation wages for instance; and that if poverty were abolished the country would go to pieces. And yet he thinks that the country might profit by considering the eccentric commonwealths of Australasia, where a man is provided with a house and farm, and secured against want through all his career. But in this country we must cling to our poverty. What a blessed thought that we have such great newspapers to advise the poor to be satisfied that their children are hungry and in rags. Be satisfied workingmen when the wife whose cheeks used to be so full of life, so beautiful with the dawn of health, if she looks like a skeleton, if her rags and dingy clothes brings a tear to your eyes. Be satisfied when your little child throws its ragged arm around your neck, and when you feel its feverish heart beating through a shabby dress, draw it closer to your bosom, and be manly enough to say: 'It is my fault, little one, that you are in rags. My work and the work of my fellow laborers have filled the world with all the good things of life; but we laboring people have decided to let some one else have the greater share of what we produce. We know that all wealth is the product of labor, and that those who work should have what they produce; but still it is our opinion that we should live in poverty while those who do not work should have the good things that our labor gives to them.' "

Still others say that if the poor were only saving there would be less misery and want. This view is illogical and

absurd; for the poor, being in the vast majority, are of course the great consumers. Now, if consumption were curtailed, business would drop off, and countless thousands would be thrown out of work. This shows how defective and abominable our present industrial system is. The poor are injured by the virtue of economy; and aided indirectly by the vice of extravagance, which helps business; which gives employment.

Again, we cannot agree with Mr. Carnegie when he says it is a great advantage to be born poor. The *Post-Dispatch* discusses this as follows:

CARNEGIE'S PHILOSOPHY.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who knows all about it, has assured us that it is a great advantage for a man to be born poor, and a disgrace to die rich.

Dr. Felix Adler gives a new and saner turn to the thought by observing that it is a "misfortune to live poor." Among the evils of poverty Dr. Adler mentions these:

1. "Inefficient nutrition," leaving the body a prey to disease and causing "dreadful mortality" among the children of the tenements.
2. "Care"—anxiety for the future, the uncertainty of existence. "It is this care that comes to the poor man and sits at his table—that comes at night and places hot coals under his pillow and prevents him from sleeping."
3. The crushing of mental activity and growth in young men and women of talent and even of genius, from lack of means of education and development.

If these are the evils of poverty, then it is no advantage to be born poor. Children bred in an atmosphere of want, fear, squalor and death are at a distinct disadvantage, notwithstanding Mr. Carnegie's confident assertion to the contrary.—Post-Dispatch.

"Mr. Neeffe, the Breslau statistician, publishes an interesting paper from which the following important facts are taken:

"In the year 1896 it appears that the death rate of the poorer classes was nearly three times greater than it was among the rich. The amount paid in rent is given as a criterion of means, the figures being as follows:

"Out of every 1,000 who paid a rent up to 300 marks, 20.7 died; out of every 1,000 paying a rent of from 301 to 750 marks, only 11.2 died, and out of every 1,000 paying a rent ranging from 750 to 1,500 marks, only 6.5 died, the average being 17.6 persons dying to each 1,000 living."

"According to these figures the mortality of the Breslau poor population is at least three times greater than that of the rich, but as a matter of fact it must be much greater, the deaths of servants, journeymen and persons who die in the hospitals not being included, and they in all cases belong to what are called the poorer classes. The same article shows that more than one-half of the children born belonging to the poor population died in babyhood, while the deaths of the children of the rich amounted to only about one-sixth of the total number born."—Solidarity.

"WEAKENING INFLUENCES OF POVERTY.

"In the American Medicine for February 15th, the editor, commenting on the investigations of Mr. Rowntree as to the effects of poverty, says: 'That of 7,000 persons in New York living in primary poverty, in 1,130 it was due to death of the chief wage earner; in 370 to his illness or old age; in 167 to being out of work; in 205 to irregularity of work; in 1,602 to largeness of family; in 3,756 to low wages.' Dividing the workingmen's districts into three classes according to income, Mr. Rowntree finds that the death rate of the lowest is more than twice as high as that of the highest. As to the school children, the average height of boys of 13 is less by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the poorer section than in that of the highest elementary schools, and the difference in weight is more than eleven pounds, with the difference in general physical condition still more marked. The truth of all this is emphasized by the fact that the immense proportion of men offering themselves as army recruits do not come up even to the moderate military standards demanded. The demonstration seems complete—a steady physical degeneration due to the dwarfing and weakening influence of poverty. Now all of this, be it noted, is taking place in the richest nation of the world, and in times of unexampled prosperity.'"

Poverty, then, is one of the greatest curses with which man is afflicted. It is a curse in every sense of the word.

A New York preacher one Sunday devoted his sermon to "the wickedest block in the world." It is on Stanton

on earth have to practice frugality? And too who have produced so abundantly that millions worth have to be sent out of the n consumers? What arrant insanity.

It is the industrial system that is at fault. dustrial system that grinds out millionaires will sooner or later strike the rock. Such h will always be the case. The day of reckoning coming events cast their shadows before.



CHAPTER XIII.

FEMALE LABOR.

How Marriage is Discouraged, and Why it is Often a Failure—Womanhood Dishonored By Grovelling Industrial Slavery—The Truth About Female Competition.

The subject of female labor is too important to pass unnoticed. It is attracting nearly as much attention as child labor. It is almost as important. Today we find women who work for a little over half of what men work for. Often they displace men. Frequently we behold the strange spectacle of the male members of a family out of work and the female members toiling daily, early and late. How unnatural!

What opinion do I hold on the subject?

Simply and emphatically, that these poor women, with the rest of society, are victims of a vicious system. Victims of circumstances over which they have no control. Compelled to work or starve. They have no choice, or probably

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they would choose home and woman's sphere in preference to the factory and office, which is man's sphere.

And yet women are generally blamed, as though they were the authors of the present industrial system. They are accused of lowering wages and throwing men out of work; but not, however, by people who think honestly and seriously on the subject. This opinion is held only by those who do not think at all. The truth is, woman has been torn from the fireside, the home, and woman's sphere, by the most tyrannical slave driver that ever existed. And that is Economic Want. It is economic want that lashes them out into the cold world to battle for the necessities of life. Grave and unnatural are some of the results. Can the poor girl or woman give up work to yield her position to some man, or to keep up the price of labor? No! "Self-preservation is the first law of nature." Perhaps there are loved ones at home depending on the small wage for their very existence. And so it is that woman is compelled to go out and labor whether she will or no. And sometimes the results are very grave indeed.

Frequently we observe a young man courting a girl, having the most honorable intentions in the world; yet he is out of work, and she has employment; just the reverse of what it ought to be. It makes no difference in the end whether she or some other girl took his position. The result is just the same. But to make the problem clear and forceful, let us assume the following situation:

The girl takes her sweetheart's position, throwing him

out of work; the daughter usurps the father's work, sending him home to idleness, and the sister takes the place of the brother in factory or office. In the shuffle we lose sight of the gravity of it all, because the displacer and the displaced are strangers to each other. It would be clear in an instant were the unnatural shuffle to take place in one family, as described. But why not face the question as it is? When examined it must be admitted that something is wrong. It is also apparent that woman, instead of being at fault, is the victim.

How unnatural for the sister to be the bread-winner and the brother the dependent. Worse even is the case of the father and daughter. How can she be educated when her time is entirely taken up with toil? How can the father pay for it when he is out of work? Worse still is the case of the lovers. How can the young man marry the girl who has taken his position? Is not the young woman herself, unhappily, the bar to marriage? Is she not preventing the thing that is dearest to the heart of every true woman?

What can be worse than a condition of affairs that prevents marriage? It would be hard to tell the amount of unhappiness such conditions produce. It is here we find the answer to the question, "Why do not more young people marry?" Also in discussing the question, "Is marriage a failure?" this phase cuts an important figure.

Female labor is a bar to marriage. None can deny that a greater number would take place if all men had work

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and were sure they could retain it. Female labor greatly increases this uncertainty. Marriage decreases. The girls who should be married are forced into the field in competition with men. Thus, like a two-edged sword, it cuts both ways; and woman is made, unhappily, an instrument of her own undoing. What can she do to mend matters? Absolutely nothing. I quote the following:

“THEY ARE SLAVES.

“(J. H. Bowers in *Iconoclast*.)

“He who dare not make for himself a home and take to his heart a woman who would bless him in abundance, is not as free as God intended men to be.

“There are thousands of young men and women to-day, who, because of the very uncertainty of their economic footing, abjure marriage. The men, most of them, destined to father that social sore, the army of prostitutes, with the money that should go to the support of a home and the rearing of children, are they free men? And the women—God pity them all, and especially those who out of the vast multitude forced into factory and shop fall by the wayside, victims of the men, who, if free, would have established them in homes, where love and honor would have filled their lives, are they free?

“Who among us will contend that a system of labor that forces women and children to carry the world's burden, to the exclusion of thousands of strong-armed men who stand ready to take more than their share of the world's work

that the loved ones may be relieved, is anything short of slavery?"

Again, the Appeal to Reason says:

"Out of the 17,000 representative workingmen in Indianapolis only 2,000 are married. Industrial conditions are such that workmen find it difficult to provide for a family, and they are finding it more difficult to find intelligent women who are willing to become the slave of a wage-slave. Girls can make a living by their own work, and have a measure of independence that the workingman's wife cannot have. The whole industrial system is opposed to happiness, and it is constantly getting worse. But the worse it gets, the better it will be; for when the condition becomes so miserable that society cannot tolerate it, then there will be a change for the better. The darkest hour comes before dawn. If that be true, let the darkness get so thick that it can be felt! If that is necessary, let it come."

The following is worthy of profound consideration:

The question of a Housekeeper, Clyde, Neb., asking how \$10 a week can be made to support, clothe and feed a family of seven—five little children among the number—attracts my attention. This is but another phase of what I call the riddle of the age, and as it is one which especially concerns us women, we should take deep interest in studying it. In a magazine I saw the proposition succinctly stated as follows: "The problem is one which confronts most young married men and women in the present time,

and can be stated in this way: A. and B. wish to marry. As business is sufficient to warrant him in the conclusion that he can support himself and wife in comfort they do marry. At the end of the first year C is born. The sickness and other expenses attendant upon his arrival have made large calls upon A's surplus funds, still he can manage. In less than two years more D puts in an appearance. There are more expenses, more sickness, and life begins to look very serious to A. This goes on for a longer or shorter period, but anyone can see that the limit is soon to be reached. If the family continues to increase without a proportionate enlargement of income, the time is not far distant when A cannot support them all, to say nothing of supporting them in comfort. The problem, then, which all these people have to meet, is, "What is to be done about it?" Some of them attempt one solution, some another, but the question remains unsettled." Now most young people contemplating matrimony see the future in a very attractive light, but as Emerson says, "No picture of life can have any veracity which does not admit the odious facts." I do not wish to call children "odious facts," but they are certainly factors which are seldom taken into account by young people when planning their future. No doubt the husband of our Clyde housekeeper expected to support his wife in comfort. Probably he took her from a home where she was more familiar with a piano and book than with wash-board and broom; for American parents are indulgent and seldom expect much work from

their daughters. No doubt he was a fascinating lad as these salesmen are wont to be, and had no difficulty in walking off with the belle of the town! Of course, this is just a fancy picture, but we all know that such cases are common. And then—five children within seven years! and dollars have so little elasticity even in experienced hands. If the wife has good health remaining, which will be most unusual, the case is not quite so tragic, but if her strength and spirits are gone, and she allows the necessity for daily, hourly economy to render her fretful and morbid, it seems to me there is a very good chance for love to fly out of the window. And in such a marriage, with love gone, what would be left? She says her husband is expected to be well dressed, and, of course, the wife and little ones need warm, comfortable clothing. Probably there is house rent to pay, and when the wise ones are answering the question let them not forget that there are other expenses besides food and clothing. We cannot live by bread alone. How much out of this \$10 a week should go for literature, music, excursions, entertainments, etc? Then there is the life insurance fund—surely our housekeeper's husband ought to have his life insured. If they belong to a lodge, there are the dues to consider; if to a church they want to give their mite. Of course they will want photographs of their little ones and at Christmas time Santa Claus is eagerly expected. There! I have not answered the question, but have amplified it; and with Housekeeper and others, shall look eagerly for the replies

of those who have solved it.—Catherine Harbaugh, Cascade, Colo.

I fear that this question, in its many phases, will prove almost too hard for *The Homemaker* to handle satisfactorily; but we shall all be glad to know of the little economies practiced by those who find it necessary to make one dollar do the work of two. Personally I believe the true solution of the problem can only come through a change in the industrial system. Of one thing we may be assured—behind all the threatening social and economic upheavals of the day, shadowed forth by the deep unrest of the multitude, is working that Almighty Power that makes for good. Let us trust it, as we have always done, and, with Tennyson,

“Be grateful for the sounding watchword, Evolution, here.”—Ed. *American Woman*.

Also these plain words on this subject:

The aversion of woman to child bearing is one of the bitter evils of the day—and its effect on the coming race will be of serious moment. The causes of this aversion are many and hard to overcome even by reason and educational forces. It is very true that the economic conditions which make the environment of many women are responsible for the dread of bringing children into the world, both directly and indirectly. Directly, by reason of the fact that the mother must go into the factory and shop to supplement the fast decreasing wage of the father. In the great mill districts of New England, mothers work at their

looms through the whole period of pregnancy, in many instances up to the very day of confinement. Not much wonder that these women dread the coming of children. It is not hard to imagine the future of these little ones poorly nourished, scantily clad, deprived of a mother's care—all this enters into the great economic problem of today.—Ella Reeve Cohen, in *Woman's Physical Development*.

None can deny that judicious marriage promotes chastity. And anything that checks marriage increases the social evil. Then women and girls working promote the social evil by preventing marriage. Yet who would blame women? She, the unhappy cause to a certain extent, is the worst sufferer in the end. The following facts are taken from a medical journal:

An eminent Frenchman made an investigation of the subject and records the fact that vanity and a desire for fine raiment prompted many women to become prostitutes.

Quite a number, also, took to the vice in order to escape hard work in the factories and the work-shops.

As long as this social system exists, prostitution will exist. As long as commercialism is a factor of our civilization, prostitution will prevail.

When young men can marry on a small income, and our standards are raised to a higher point, prostitution will decrease.

Judicious marriages promote chastity, and are encouraged by every moralist.

FEMALE LABOR.

e in New York City some 50,000 such women; age life after falling is four years; \$50,000,000 expended in the traffic.—Medical Brief, June.

limit has been reached; the end is at hand. The social system is tottering, and ere long will collapse. Men at work. Men displaced. Marriage pre-social evil augmented. Woman the principal sufferer.

ta will be added to the general upheaval. Alone importance, but its gravity is increased when connection with the other ills that have seized the . And the social body, already sick unto death diseases, is ready to succumb when this addiction is added. But this is not all.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIERCE STRUGGLE.

How Men Are Forced to Wage Relentless War On Each Other, In Order to Hold Their Own.—The Horrible Cruelty and Debasing Effects of the Situation.

Strange to say, that with the increase of civilization, population, and improvements, has also come a desperate battle for a foothold in life. A strenuous effort that wears out body and soul, and is kept up daily, weekly, yearly, until the victim, tired, worn, spent, and old before his time, is forced out of the conflict.

With the shriek of the whistle, the great throng in mad haste, fly to their work. Then all through the long day, a killing pace, and such an intensity of application is kept up that one might believe the day of judgment were coming, and but one day remained to get ready for it. Even the banker and speculator is not exempt. All rush like mad. At noon scarcely any rest is taken. Indeed, many scarcely take time to snatch a morsel of food.

The Appeal to Reason says:

"Mr. Rockefeller's mad race to own the world has resulted in ruining his stomach, causing his hair to fall out of his head, his eye-brows and moustache to disappear; it has succeeded in making thousands of his competitors go into bankruptcy, and in causing the people generally to think of him as a fiend. If he had lived under a sane industrial system, Mr. Rockefeller might have been as universally liked, as he is well liked by those of his friends. It is the system of profit that has caused all his trouble. It is driving thousands to the grave of suicide, and the poor house, as the days go by. It is the most damnable thing—this thing called profit—that was ever conceived in the mind of savage man. And the people are beginning to see the depths of degradation to which profit has sunk the souls of men."

And why this mad race? What is the great stake?

It is simply the uncertainty of one's position. None feel secure. The rich banker, speculator, financier, all fear they may lose their foothold any minute. The next market report may bring news of financial ruin. Even many merchants and manufacturers struggle under a great load. For, doing business at a loss, the morrow is always an uncertainty, for fear they will be unable to meet obligations. Thus are many haunted by the nightmares of disaster. Then when reverses come, how often is relief sought by poison or the pistol. To pick up a paper and

read that a business man has killed himself is of common occurrence. Here are a few samples.

Just an ordinary news item this: "Forced out of business and practically ruined by the exactions of the beef trust, Louis Holebeck acknowledged defeat yesterday by taking his own life."—Press dispatch in Baltimore News of April 24. Holebeck was in the retail business in New York. His customers were mostly of the working class; and as the price of meat went up his profits fell away, and his trade became so bad that he had to close his shop. He thought it would be an easy matter to find work at his trade; but as he tramped from place to place he was told that men were being discharged, not employed. It was too much for him, this "unexampled era of prosperity," so he took his own life, after the Beef Trust ("which does not exist") took his business. The next move for the financiers will be to make a "noble" gift to some church or college that is run in their own interest. The people learn through suffering.

Depressed by financial difficulties, George Erlinger, aged seventy-one, 1221 North Gay street, New York, a brush manufacturer, took a dose of poison the other day as the quickest way out of his troubles. Thus the old sometimes end their lives, when they are no longer able to make a living in this competitive world. Under sane conditions, this old man would have spent his last days in peace. As one's childhood is spent in play and amusement, so should the last days on earth be.

But why the fierce struggle of those who do not own and operate businesses of their own? They have nothing at stake. They have no capital or enterprises to worry about.

The poorer classes have worries and troubles, in getting their daily bread. Many a man employed at a minimum wage, dreads disaster to his employer, more than the employer himself, simply because his position is at stake, and on his position depends the daily bread of himself and family. Should he lose this, it may be a long time before he secures another, and with no money or friends it is no wonder he worries and frets away his life.

Often the temptation comes to be dishonest. A newspaper has the following:

"Henry Penning, homeless and out of work, committed larceny in New York city, was arrested and put in jail, where he committed suicide in order to get away from the prosperity that is abroad in the land. It may be added that he was not one of the guests at the dinner given by Morgan to Prince Henry of Prussia."

Here are other instances:

"Mary L. Anderson, aged forty, attempted suicide at 8:30 a. m., April 15. She had been out of employment for some time, and in a fit of despondency used a carving knife on her throat.—Baltimore World." The above is a typical news item. And yet we call this a happy and contented people, worthy to carry civilization to other nations; and capable of forcing our stereotyped customs down the throats of foreigners.

"Los Angeles, April 7. Becoming despondent over the difficulty of providing for herself and her three children, Mrs. C. F. Schweitzer of El Monte, thirteen miles from this city, ended her life by drowning herself in a tank of crude oil. The body was today found floating in the tank, which is connected with a pumping plant on a neighboring ranch."

The terrible struggle for existence, with the consequent nervous strain wastes the powers of the individual, and undermines the health of mind and nerve. It is no wonder that many degenerate morally. It is no wonder that large numbers turn to dishonesty, immorality, and suicide. The strain and pressure of modern competition is too severe.

Suicide is increasing.

Death, naturally feared above everything, is now in many cases welcomed as a friend. Statistics, and the daily papers bear this out.

The Appeal to Reason makes the following observation:

"Business worries cause the suicide of 1,500 people a year in the principal cities of this country. Nice system, eh? Vote for a system, believe in it, fight for it,—and then kill one's self to get away from it! The modern business man is a lulu! He never thinks—he just thinks he thinks. He knows less of the system he lives under, less of political questions, less of the phenomena about him than the average laboring man who belongs to a union. The other day I met a business man from Kansas

City and we were discussing the growth and meaning of the trusts and monopolies, and he said that he had never had any insight into the subject until recently when he engaged one of his workmen in conversation, and he had opened his eyes to what all this ferment and crushing meant. He said he was no match for the employe whom he should have said, had he been asked, was an ignorant, stupid specimen of the *genius homo*. The business man is now reading up to be as intelligent as his employe."

The great increase in suicide shows increased failures in life. It shows that life, liberty and happiness are becoming harder and harder to secure.

Many are the victims of modern social conditions. Some have been robbed of reputation; some of money; others of hope, joy, health; or of things that make life worth living, until finally to the poor victim of unnatural conditions even the grave is a haven of rest. These are some of the effects of a system that is sinful, unjust and unhealthy. Unhealthy morally, mentally and physically.

And these victims are woefully numerous. The young, the old, the rich, the poor, all kinds and all classes.

But the most pathetic of all is the child suicide. The Appeal to Reason says:

"In 1861-5 there was one suicide to 347 deaths. In 1895-9 there was one in every 198. Where there used to be 100 deaths from suicide in proportion to the general mortality there are now 175.

The Appeal to Reason says:

“Suicide is much more prevalent amongst men than women, and at certain periods of life more than others. If we work out the ratio of suicide amongst males during the working period of life, i. e., from 25 to 65 years of age, we find it to be enormously above the average. In 1861-5 the ratio of suicide amongst males from 25 to 65 years of age was one in 85 deaths; in 1895-9 it was one in 54.

“And now we come to a terrible fact. The younger the age the greater has been the increase in the rate of suicide. From 45 to 65 years of age, where there used to be 100 male deaths from suicide in proportion to the mortality of these ages, there are now 130. From 25 to 45 years of age, where there used to be 100 there are now 201. From 15 to 25 years of age, where there used to be 100 there are now 256. Such has been the increase in the ratio of suicide to the mortality since 1861-5.

“The saddest thing of all is the existence and increase of child suicide. Child misery is the greatest crime of civilization; a crime for which there is no extenuation, and for which there can be no forgiveness. Here, for instance, is the pathetic farewell of a poor little Lancashire mill lad of 13, who drowned himself a short time ago: ‘Goodnight all. John Willie, tell my mother I have jumped into ——’s lodge because I am tired of life. God bless you, Jimmy!’ The body was afterward found in the mill pond.

"Since 1861 nearly 400 children of from 10 to 15 years of age have put an end to their lives."

If any period of life should be sacred to happiness and joy; to education and development; that period is the days of childhood. And yet there are countless thousands who never have any childhood; who from earliest infancy know only hardship, suffering and tribulation; who are better acquainted with tears and sorrow than they are with laughter and happiness; who at a tender age are dragged to the factories, shops, and mines to have everything good and high and noble dwarfed in them; and have instilled in them principles of vice, wickedness and crime. Is it any wonder that some of these little wretches frequently take their lives? With no hope or escape open to them it would be remarkable if even the majority of them should grow up to be respectable citizens. The suicide of many a gray-beard might be traced back to an early time when he first began losing his hold on life. Many of these, were the truth known, deserve praise instead of blame for having held out so long in the unequal fight.

Our modern strenuous life finds all kinds of victims. The aged with but a few days to live; the starving; those from whom hope has fled; the bankrupt, and the disgraced. The rich who have escaped all this, and who should be contented often end careers that have been nauseated by over-indulgence; the criminal, who, by the way, is made such nine times out of ten by a distorted and miserable social system; and finally the many who attempt, but fail to take their lives.

And yet, many as there are who resort to suicide to escape the struggle, the wonder really is that there are no more. Human nature must be good, and brave, and strong, indeed, to put up such a good fight in the face of so many wrongs and vicissitudes. Consider this:

WHY ARE SUICIDES SO FEW?

"New York Journal. Many people wonder why there are so many suicides. The extraordinary thing is that there are so many who fail to commit suicide. Everybody knows that there are in America hundreds of thousands of men who cannot get work—hundreds of thousands willing to earn their bread, who are obliged to live on charity. Could anything be more humiliating than such a situation when forced upon a man willing but unable to be useful?

"Of course the answer comes that this is the process of elimination, of weeding out, that goes on throughout creation, from the oyster up to the American citizen.

"But that does not answer the original question: 'Why is it that so few destroy themselves?'

How marvelous in its force must the instinct of self-preservation be which compels men to hang on to their lives in the face of humiliation, added to hopelessness and hunger.

"The Providence or the laws or destiny which control us here must have some important plan for us to carry out when it compels men who would rather be dead to live and suffer."

And it really is a wonder that no more of these crimes actually take place. To live in a country surrounded by plenty and to always go without; to live under a free and supposedly righteous government and to be continually wronged, is demoralizing to say the least. It is maddening to live where might makes right. It is unnatural to live under conditions that make paupers and millionaires, tramps and scholars, society butterflies and desperadoes.

But everything points to the fact that such conditions cannot continue. He who will, may read as he runs. The unnatural strain and struggle against each other will be kept up a little longer and then something will snap. Listen and hear the breaking! Look and behold the rents!

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION.

Misdirected Education.—Institutions Under the Control
of Plutocracy. Politics and the Public Schools.

Ignorance of Educators—"Business" and
the College Man.

It has often been said that the hope of the world lies in education; because ignorance is one of man's great enemies. This is true. It is further asserted that all social and industrial questions, will be solved without any trouble, in this country; the American people being so highly educated. For America has schools and colleges scattered from one end of the land to the other.

Let us see if education can and will prevent the Revolution of 1907.

In order to perform a difficult task, one must be educated to do that and not some other task. To illustrate: If a man has received a good medical education, we would not say he could perform well on a musical instrument.

Likewise if a man wanted to practice law he would not study flowers and trees.

Yet we often follow exactly that method of reasoning when we listen to the opinions of graduates and professors, on subjects they have never investigated. A man may know a great deal about mathematics, yet if he has never made a specialty of social, industrial and political economy, his opinion on these subjects have but little weight.

Education, then, to solve the social and industrial questions, must be along these lines. At present it almost ignores them.

Education, if properly directed, would show people the flaws and fallacies existing under present economic conditions, and then, all being thoroughly posted, could vote and legislate intelligently enough to correct and change them. But the wrongs and abuses of the present system are studiously avoided. The educated are educated along every line save these.

Why do not the schools and colleges teach the truth? Why are not the people taught how to legislate against all these evils? Simply because somebody does not want them to do so. The colleges are endowed and supported by the rich and are consequently under their control. Why should the trust barons and plutocrats encourage and promote the study and investigation of their abominable ways? Of course not! It would be suicide. They want no change. Present methods have been the making of



Those who endow the colleges are at the fountain-head of learning and prescribe and forbid certain studies.



them, and they have no complaint. Things are good enough as they are. All the injustice and wrong prevailing redound to their gain. The profits go to them, the misery goes to the poor. As they do not wish to change present conditions every text book and lecture on the subject is suppressed and discouraged at the schools and colleges. Occasionally some teacher persists in thinking and denouncing present social conditions. His career is cut short. The rich endowers and contributors have only to mildly protest against him when he is removed.

It is true that literature, science, and art are taught wonderfully well. But a head crammed full of Latin and history is still ignorant of the wrongs and evils all around, if an investigation has never taken place.

"One of the common faults with the teaching of our schools is that students are not allowed to examine the real facts of economic history. The class struggle is not mentioned in the school room, except to cast a shadow upon the agitators of the past, who recognized the struggle that has been running through all the years, since private property in the earth was first established by the strong over-powering the weak. Teachers read and teach the old words, and old ideas that the conquerors left in their will. They cling to the skeleton hand that reaches out of the night, and offers a bribe to those who look for the dawn, to come back with them to the grave, and wear the industrial chains of wage-slavery through all the re-

maining years of time. Students begin to learn the truth, AFTER LEAVING ENDOWED COLLEGES."

Nothing must be taught against the capitalist class or plutocracy, which has ground its millions out of the sweat and blood of the masses.

In short, the whole truth is this: Those who support the colleges, dictate what shall not be taught. Not in so many words, but indirectly. Because the college that pleases them gets the donations, and the one that displeases gets—nothing. Result: All colleges try to please the plutocracy. Thus we find, like in everything else, plutocracy stands at the fountain head of learning.

How, then, can the social and industrial question be solved by education as conducted today? But some may say, "How about the public schools? Plutocracy does not contribute to them and hence has no voice in their control. They are controlled by the public."

Let us see who controls the public schools.

Plutocracy contributes to both great political parties. The Standard Oil Trust admitted once in court that they had contributed \$50,000 to the Republican party in one state and \$50,000 to the Democratic party in another, the sole object being to keep in good standing with the power that controlled, regardless of what it might be. In this way Plutocracy has many of its servants placed in office. It is certainly not the poor who control the political parties. It is the rich. It is money. Hence the Public Schools are controlled by the politicians, and by the rich

and their tools. So that while the private colleges are controlled by endowment, the public schools are controlled by politics and influence.

Thus once more we find plutocracy holding the reins.

We would not think of permitting this class to prescribe the medical course in a college, nor any course in science or art. Neither would they care to. It does not jeopardize their interests in any way. Yet political and social economy are more important by far. In these, though, our rulers decide what shall and what shall not be taught. The result is that we know nothing about these sciences. Medicine, electricity and inventions have made rapid strides. They are a hundred years ahead of the science of legislation. When we think of great statesmen, our thoughts involuntarily turn back more than a hundred years to Jefferson, Washington, etc., but to say we have great statesmen today—everybody knows better.

Every kind of learning is encouraged save that which teaches the truth in regard to trusts, plutocracy, the people's rights, etc. None of this is permitted in the schools. Of course, this cannot be suppressed in books, magazines, press, pulpit and rostrum, but it can be in the thousands of schools and colleges.

So then if the statement be made that the hope of the world lies in education, it must be qualified. Education if properly conducted would solve the social and industrial problem; but as conducted today it never will.

Note the ignorance prevailing along these lines. Men

highly educated in every other respect manifest the utmost stupidity along these most important lines. For instance, President Hadley of Yale College recently suggested a method of dealing with trusts. He said that social ostracism of the trust magnates would offer a solution to the problem. Could anything be more hair-brained? To think of handling these mammoth and world-wide concerns in this manner. These institutions that defy governments! To think of overcoming their gigantic strength with a society snub! What is the matter with Mr. Hadley? Is there something wrong with him? Is he weak-minded? Not at all. He simply is not posted along this line. And not being posted is as much out of place as a jockey or sailor would be in the presidential chair at Yale College. However, the jockey and sailor would know and have sense enough to admit that their training left out presidential chairs. But President Hadley knows it all. The trust question? Easiest thing in the world. Don't admit the trust people into society. Wonderful wisdom. Wonderful statesmanship! Great shades of Jefferson and Washington!

And yet Mr. Hadley never doubted for an instant his superior ability and knowledge on these questions. In fact, at the time he made the statement he was touring the country, looking over different railway systems, preparatory to enlightening the American people and uttering pearly truths of great wisdom on the transportation problem. I have never had the benefit of his views on this

question, and have wondered many times if they were as profound and deep as his views on the trust question.

But he is not the only one. The education of all our teachers has been sadly neglected along these lines. In times of panic what views prevail! What outlandish remedies are proposed. The last panic and crisis of '93 was caused by the World's Fair at Chicago, according to some. Another theory was the sun spot theory; the adherants of the latter claiming that whenever the sun had certain spots on it a panic would surely follow, reasoning that the heat of the sun was tampered with, which had a bad effect on crops, thus precipitating the panic.

Another old theory, which, thank goodness, has almost been abandoned is the Malthusan theory, which holds that population increases faster than food products. Hence there is a crowding and a struggle for existence.

Some thought that the poor were not saving enough. That they ought to work harder and spend less.

Some said women were the fault, as they were taking the work away from men.

Some said there was over-production, a glut, a lack of market; others said it was the tariff, or free trade, or the silver question. So it went all the way down the lines. We all had our views and have yet. We are right, generally, in proportion to the honest study and investigations we have made. Yet there are many exceptions. We still disagree with each other. What some say is good others say is bad and vice versa. And this is exactly what is

wanted by our plutocratic masters. As long as we disagree they are safe. We will always disagree as long as we are kept in ignorance on these special subjects. It is safe for the plutocrats to keep us divided.

Were the public to be educated along these lines, intelligent elections and legislation would take place. The people would become aware that the rich were growing richer and the poor, poorer; and fully alive to the horrors of child labor, and many kindred evils, could take immediate steps to abolish all of them. They would act in union against plutocracy, and establish "a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Is it likely, then, that as long as the rich control the colleges and the politicians have charge of the public schools any of these doctrines will be taught? No, because before many years an army of brainy and enlightened people would be spreading the truth from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In short, it is a mistaken idea to suppose that education as dispensed to-day will meet and solve the social and industrial problem. A student turned out of the present schools is harmless to the trust baron or plutocrat. His head is filled with latin, mathematics and science. His education is complete, and he would smile at any information that did not come from the colleges. It would be a hopeless task to try and convince him that he was as ignorant as a new-born babe on the real live issues of the day. He has high ideals, very high, concerning many things. He has none economically.

He is the hardest person in the world to convince. The man who isn't highly educated is more open to conviction than he.

Finally, then, we may safely conclude that the revolution will not be prevented by education such as is generally understood.

Of course, the people as yet haven't offered this criticism against modern educational institutions, but they have a criticism. It is a wonderful one. It is so remarkable that I cannot refrain from touching on it.

We have all heard the ridiculous remark "Colleges do not fit a man for business." I shall proceed to deal with this remark in the most forcible language possible. I want to show how shallow and thoughtless it is.

A college education in order to fit a man to cope in the business world today, would have to develop the cunning, the shrewdness, the avarice, the cruelty and coldness in the student, and permit to lie dormant kindness, gentleness, loveableness, generosity, pity, warmth and feeling of all description. The high, the moral, the noble principles of man must not be developed; the meanest, the basest and most physical must be, and you have your modern and successful business man. He must be able to cut wages without feeling. He must look upon the ruin and downfall of a competitor with coldness and indifference. He must not wince if the militia shoot down his striking employees. The suffering of the wives and children of the strikers must not touch his heart.

Can any one deny that this is a picture of the modern business man? True, there are many exceptions. Thank heaven, there are many business men who would and have accepted failure rather than injure a fellowman. But as competition becomes keener and keener business is becoming more and more a desperate and heartless conflict in which but few can win.

Do people think, when they say colleges ought to teach men to be monsters of cruelty and heartless selfishness? No! They have hardly realized into what condition modern business has degenerated. If they did such thoughtless suggestions would not be made.

Thank goodness the colleges do not teach us how to become successful business men. By far rather ignore the whole question, as they do to-day, than follow such a course.

But a word in regard to the man who has just finished college. Perhaps he is filled to the brim with classics, with science, art, or literature, and his ideals are very high. It is now time to strike out in the world. Above all things, he wishes to succeed. Sad to say, all success to-day is measured by dollars and cents. To be a successful man he must make money. To his bitter disappointment, he finds this has degenerated into a degrading task. He finds men who willingly waive all principles of honor to make money and be counted successful. Close application to his books and studies has kept this alarming condition from

him. He never thought going out into the world meant a grappling with such unprincipled men.

However, he must make up his mind as to the course he will pursue. Shall he become mercenary, selfish and avaricious? Shall he enter the conflict, and, like his competitors, resort to any and all means to succeed? Or shall he preserve his integrity, his principles; his high ideals? Suppose he tries to pursue the right. If he tries to observe the golden rule he will be taken advantage of at every turn. Those without conscience have every advantage over those of keen conscience and honor. They can outstrip them in the race. Whenever a brainy man like this fails, thoughtless people sometimes say, "Well, it's too bad, but a college education does not fit a man for business." I say, heaven spare us from one that does. It must be a most degenerate education that fits a man to be more cunning and pitiless than some of the human hyenas that infest the business world today.

On the other hand, suppose he decides to succeed, even though he must waive all principle and honor. Still there remain many obstacles in his way. To begin with, if he has no capital his chances are very slim. If he has immense capital, he will be almost sure to succeed. Without capital he must work for somebody else. To begin in a small way and work up is out of the question altogether. Such chances and openings are gone forever.

And right here one of the gravest charges may be

brought against modern business, and it is so important that I must digress long enough to touch on it.

Modern business methods are responsible for the closing up of all the openings and avenues that lead to business success. No more openings remain. Either one must start in business with immense capital or take a position working for somebody else. The young man with only brain and pluck is out of the race even before he starts. In olden times everybody had a chance to start in business for himself. The journeyman shoemaker had only to procure himself a set of tools, a bench and a room to work in, and he had an opening and an equal opportunity with everybody else. Today he would have to own an elaborate factory and expensive machinery, all of which takes capital. The carpenter of yore had little more difficulty in starting in, while to-day he would require an expensive planing mill with all kinds of machinery, which would also take an immense capital. Likewise the small merchant had no mammoth department store to compete with, and could begin on a very small scale.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not advocate a return to old-time methods, but it cannot be denied that with the passing of the small business enterprise has gone the opening for the young man.

The young man fresh from college will find these openings few and far between.

Suppose he has no capital and must work for somebody else. He immediately finds a host of young men

struggling for the same prize that he is. All struggling for a promotion, and for every lucrative position held out there are scores doing their utmost and straining every nerve to win. Only a few can win. And these are generally the strongest. The rest must remain where they are. Yet there are many who persist that there is plenty of room at the top! An old and fallacious saying. There is no more hope of all succeeding to-day than there is for every runner to win in a foot-race, or than there is for every man to be president of the United States.

So, with the competitive struggle so fierce, the temptation to do wrong grows stronger every day.

Thus the college graduate is soon brought face to face with things that surprise him. He learns facts that were not included in the college curriculum. Sometimes he will wonder why they were not, and why he was left to learn so many things in the bitter school of experience. But he seldom digs deep enough to discover the real cause. Those students who are rich or who make a success of life never think of the subject at all. To them everything is just as perfect as can be desired, and they have no objections to offer whatever. The unfortunate ones sometimes discover the power behind the throne and lend their aid and support to all efforts of reform.

To recapitulate, then, it is futile to look to the colleges and schools of the present day to rectify any or all of our social and industrial evils. Plutocracy would strain every point to prevent light on these subjects escaping from these institutions of learning.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHURCH.

ed Mission; Lamentable Failure in Fulfilling It—
It Does Not Draw the Masses—The Worship
Mammon—Corruption in High Places—
Why It Will Be Unable to Pre-
vent the Revolution.

Has the church been such a monitor? Have the people hearkened to her? If so the church will be a strong factor in quieting the storm. If not its words will carry but little weight.

Let us inspect the record of the church to-day. What has it done for the poor; for the widows and orphans; the oppressed and homeless?

Sad to say, the evidence is against this. The evidence shows that it has felt the paralyzing touch of mammon and the world. The evidence shows that the masses have turned sorrowfully from it in disappointment.

The following, by Bishop R. S. Foster, of the M. E. Church, we clip from the Gospel Trumpet. It bears the same testimony, though in different language; a little too plainly perhaps for some, as the bishop has since been retired against his wish and despite his tears. Bishop Foster said:

"The church of God is to-day courting the world. Its members are trying to bring it down to the level of the ungodly. The ball, the theater, nude and lewd art, social luxuries, with all their loose moralities, are making inroads into the secret enclosure of the church; and as a satisfaction for all this worldliness, Christians are making a great deal of Lent and Easter and Good Friday and church ornamentations. It is the old trick of Satan. The Jewish church struck on that rock; the Romish church was wrecked on the same, and the Protestant church is fast reaching the same doom.

"Our great dangers, as we see them, are assimilation to the world, neglect of the poor, substitution of the form for the fact of godliness, abandonment of discipline, a hireling ministry, an impure gospel—which, summed up, is a fashionable church. That Methodists should be liable to such an outcome and that there should be signs of it in a hundred years from the 'sail loft' seems almost the miracle of history; but who that looks about him to-day can fail to see the fact?"

The Literary Digest says:

"Not long since a New England clergyman addressed a letter to Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, asking him to state why, in his opinion, so many intelligent workingmen do not attend church. In reply Mr. Gompers said that one reason is that the churches are no longer in touch with the hopes and aspirations of workingmen, and are out of sympathy with their miseries and burdens. The pastors either do not know, he said, or have not the courage to declare from their pulpits, the rights and wrongs of the toiling millions. The organizations found most effective in securing improved conditions have been frowned upon by the church. Laborers have had their attention directed to 'the sweet by and by,' to the utter neglect of the conditions arising from 'the bitter now and now.' The church and the ministry have been the 'apologists and defenders of the wrongs committed against the interests of the people, simply because the perpetrators are the possessors of

wealth.' Asked as to the means he would suggest for a reconciliation of the church and the masses, Mr. Gompers recommends 'a complete reversal of the present attitude.' He closes with these words: 'He who fails to sympathize with the movement of labor, he who complacently or indifferently contemplates the awful results of present economic and social conditions, is not only the opponent of the best interests of the human family, but is particeps criminis to all wrongs inflicted upon the men and women of our time, the children of to-day, the manhood and womanhood of the future.'"

Yet few, very few, can read the handwriting on the wall, and they are powerless to overcome, or even to stay, the popular current. Mr. T. DeWitt Talmage seems to see and understand to some extent, for, in a discourse, he said:

"Unless the Church of Jesus Christ rises up and proves herself the friend of the people as the friend of God, and in sympathy with the great masses, who with their families at their backs are fighting this battle for bread, the church, as at present organized, will become a defunct institution, and Christ will go down again to the beach and invite plain, honest fishermen to come into an apostleship of righteousness—manward and Godward. The time has come when all classes of people shall have equal rights in the great struggle to get a livelihood."

Other significant expression through the press, of the popular judgment, are as follows:

"The Catholic Review and some other papers insist that

there should be 'religious instruction in the prisons.' That's right. We go further than that. There should be religious instruction in other places besides the prisons—in the homes, for instance, and in the Sunday schools. Yes, we will not be outdone in liberality, we favor religious instruction in some churches. You can't have too much of a good thing if you take it in moderation."

In an article in *The Forum* of October, '90, on "Social Problems and the Church," by Bishop Huntington, we have his comment on a very notable and significant fact, as follows:

"'When a great mixed audience in one of the public halls in New York cheered the name of Jesus Christ and hissed the name of the church, it settled no question, solved no problem, proved no proposition, expounded no Scripture, but it was as significant as half the sermons that are preached.' He then referred to the fact that the time was 'when the people heard the words, 'Christ and the church,' with reverent silence if not with enthusiastic devotion, and then remarked: 'Only in these later days when workingmen think, read, reason and reflect, does a promiscuous crowd rudely, rather than irreverently, take the two apart, honoring the one and scouting the other.'"

The Appeal to Reason says:

"According to the news dispatches, Rev. Russell Conwell, of Philadelphia, recently made the following statement in Omaha: 'Every man in Omaha has had an opportunity to get rich. It is a disgrace, too, for any man

live in Omaha for ten years and not be rich. No man has a right to be poor. As a rule the poor people are the dishonest people, and the rich people are the honest people in this day of Christian civilization. The foundation of business success and Christianity are identical. Money is power and you should pray for power. Get money, no matter how; nor who suffers by you taking from the producers what by right belongs to them.' 'Get money; get it honest if you can; but get money.' That's the doctrine, and the said gentleman will pray for your wrong doing provided you donate to one of his enterprises."

It is plain then that the church, delinquent in its duty, weakened and palsied, will not command respect enough in the great day of trouble to stay the hand of trouble.

I do not for an instant assert that this grandest of institutions is passing away forever, or that it will fail to triumph or be glorified in the end. Far from it. But I do most emphatically say that it is falling far short of its high calling in the present day; and will utterly fail to draw men after it and away from the grave dangers ahead.

How is it possible for the church to gain the confidence of the people—the poor and oppressed—when her own garments, which should be without spot or wrinkle, are so often polluted with the same filth that corrupts the body politic? Nothing is more painful to the earnest Christian than to discover these blots on the fair fame of that holy institution. But they are often so glaring, so palpably apparent to the world, that it would not only be

hypocrisy, but sheer idiocy to attempt to conceal the facts, and no good ever came from such concealment however we may deplore them. It is best to look them in the face and make an honest confession, though it covers us with shame.

The revelations in the case of the M. E. Church South and the publishing house scandal are humiliating to every Christian, without regard to denominational lines. We give this instance, not because this great branch of the church is worse than others; nay, she is perhaps nearer the great heart of the people than any other. She has been corrupted as little by the prevailing influences of evil in the world as any other; yet, what are the facts in this case? During the Civil War the federal troops occupied the buildings of the publishing house and used the plant for military purposes. The church was kept from the use of its property during nearly the whole period of the war, and when the property was restored it was almost a total wreck. Conservative judges placed the actual damage done at over \$500,000. A claim for restitution was brought before Congress, but more than thirty years passed before any definite action was taken by that body. Finally, \$288,000 was appropriated to cover the loss. Everyone who was informed admitted the claim was just; but how was the money recovered? It developed that Barbee & Smith, the agents of the publishing house, had employed a lobbyist, E. B. Stahlman, to get the bill through Congress. They made a contract with him to pay him 35 per

cent of the gross sum recovered. Rumors of this contract reached the ears of certain Senators and Congressmen and threatened to jeopardize the bill. Friends of the measure communicated with the agents and asked for the facts. These agents positively and repeatedly denied the facts. These denials were taken in good faith by both Senators and Representatives, who reiterated and emphasized them on the floors before their respective bodies, and the bill was passed with the distinct understanding that none of the money should go for any purpose except the legitimate beneficiaries of the publishing house. Of course when the facts became known there was a sensation, but the conservative people of the country refused to blame the church for the actions of its agents, and waited with suspended judgment until she should act upon the matter. No one could doubt but dishonest methods had been used; it had been absolutely demonstrated that the book agents were guilty of falsehood, but people all over the country said: "The church will repudiate the whole transaction and redeem her name from dishonor." Did she? Less than two months after the money was secured the General Conference of the church met in Quadrenial session. At this time the facts had not been made public, and the whole country supposed that everything was straight and the money honestly obtained, and was congratulating the church on having at last come into her own. Now, in this church a book committee of more than a dozen members has control of all matters pertaining to the publishing

house except the election of the agents, which is done by the General Conference. In a secret session of this book committee, during this session of conference, all the facts were presented and discussed, which afterward caused the sensation when made public; yet this book committee, knowing these facts, not only permitted these agents to be re-elected, by keeping the conference in ignorance of the facts, but raised the salary of each \$500 per annum. Were not these men as guilty as the book agents? And they did represent the church.

But the exposure finally came. Then conservative people said: "Wait until the next session of the General Conference and the church will set her seal of disapproval upon the infamy." What this conference did is recent history and need not be recited; but one of those book agents is still in office, the other a presiding elder, Stahlman has not disgorged, and the money has not been returned to Congress; in fact, it has not all been used for the purpose for which it was appropriated—the superannuate fund—which is the only legitimate use that can be made of it. Part of it went for increased salaries and part to establish branch houses in Texas and China.

Now, in the face of all these facts, can this church, as an institution, escape the charge of double dealing and dishonesty?

I want to reiterate that I do not select this particular church as though it were worse than others, but rather,

because it is better than most; and yet these facts are notorious.

But it is also notorious among the preachers of another, and even larger church, that one of her greatest leaders—in fact, many consider him the greatest orator in her pulpit—has been guilty time and again of scandalous conduct with women. Yet no one dares to bring him to justice. He is too powerful with the moneyed interests of the church.

Evidence from all sources might be adduced to show that the church generally is favoring capitalism and the rich. And that in doing so is losing its hold on the great mass of the people.

With this power gone it is very improbable that it can and will settle the great social and industrial questions that are stirring society to its foundations. If it could it is doubtful if it would. Its sympathy and support go negatively to plutocracy.

When the revolution breaks upon us there will be no restraint or check morally. Education and the Church might have furnished this, but the power of mammon has prevented it. In all its fury it will burst upon a people whose suffering and misery will be intense; who in their confusion and trouble will not know which way to turn or what to do.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FARMER.

History of Land Ownership; the People Becoming Tenants—Millions of Acres Owned By Railroads and Other Corporations—The Farmer Robbed On All Sides—An Industrial Slave to a Ruthless Master, Plutocracy.

The question of escaping the calamity comes up for a brief consideration. One might leave the country and find safety in Europe or England. But as 70,000,000 people could not pull up stake and escape from each other, it is useless to discuss emmigration. A handful of the rich will do this, but even they may be going from the frying pan into the fire. The same economic laws are at work in Europe as in America, and stupendous social and labor troubles may overtake European society before it does us. So much for that.

But another means of escape proposed I wish to investigate more closely: that is, the suggestion that the people

move out into the country on farms, etc., and there, living in quiet and peace, be free from the impending troubles.

Recently a friend, confiding in me, said he feared he would lose his position, as it was said a trust proposed to absorb the firm he was working for. He finished by saying: "Well, if the worst comes, one can always take his family and move out on a farm." There never can be a trust of farms and the people can always have that as an avenue of escape."

I said: "You are mistaken if you think farm life is a way of escape. Even though a few families with a little money move to the country and prosper, what would happen if the great mass of the people did likewise? What would be the result if people by the hundred thousands and millions flocked to the farms? Intense competition; a great decline in prices; and the most intense suffering and distress imaginable." No, farm life is not the solution of, or escape from the impending troubles.

Further, I am going to prove that the farm, instead of being a national safety valve, is going to be a fruitful source of trouble and discontent; and that the farmer will be a most important factor in the impending crisis.

At present there are 34,000,000 people living on farms. This is by far the largest of any one industrial class, and comprises nearly one-half the population. Very little attention has been paid to the farmer class heretofore, because it has always been the great conservative and steady class of America. But it is certainly very evident

that this large number of people could make themselves heard if they chose to do so. This they will do, as will be shown a little later.

Land will cut an important figure, not only because it is everything to the farmer, but because it is almost as important to the rest of the people, no matter where they live.

Now, it may not be generally known that land was not always private property. But such is a fact. The private ownership of land came into use after feudalism.

To better understand the interesting situation, a brief historical review of a few facts may not come amiss.

To begin with, land was first siezed by conquering kings, after which it belonged to the throne. But it was never sold to the subjects. It was let out for use only.

With the fall of the Roman Empire came the Europe of the middle ages. Serfdom was instituted and it took the place of slavery. This was some steps in advance of slavery and it flourished.

Under it, the lords compelled the serfs to perform certain duties for them, called week work and boon work. The week work meant several days' work a week for the lord without pay; and the boon work, extra work at special seasons for the whole family. The balance of the time he might work for himself or for others. In addition the serf usually gave his master small dues in quarterly payments of money, a certain number of bushels of oats (of his own crops) and different kinds of service.

This was the way the lords of the land were first created. They were called landlords because they could take the rent or surplus earnings away from their tenants. The slave owner, the feudal lord and the landlord had each the same object in view. They took all but enough for the serf to live upon. While their methods might differ some, the results were the same.

This aristocracy of the land controlled the law-making power, of course. They soon passed laws that the lands should remain in their families. And here was the beginning of the private ownership of land.

With the passing of feudalism, the land owners freed themselves from the feudal dues which formerly went to the king. Then they became bolder and laid claim to the common lands, which formerly furnished the serfs with pasturage, fire wood, etc. Thus, by these repeated thefts, were the rights of the people disregarded; they were brushed aside and hardships imposed until intense hatred was engendered in their bosoms.

Of the efforts of the nobles to appropriate the old "common lands," Mr. Harold Cox, in his book on "Land Nationalization," page 28, says: "In county after county the peasantry rose against these encroachments. . . . The nobility and gentry quickly combined for common defense; they sold their plate and jewelry, armed their retainers, and with the aid of German and Italian mercenaries suppressed the successive uprisings. The peasantry were thus compelled, by the unanswerable arguments of

musketry and hangman's rope, to submit to the loss of common rights which were theirs by the prescriptions of centuries." Page after page of quotations from history might easily be given showing by what base methods the nobles acquired the titles to their lands, and how they utterly disregarded the welfare of the common people, blasting the lives of multitudes and actually killing great numbers of them.

Once the private ownership of land was established, it became a permanent institution. The older the system grew, the less it was questioned, and finally it was looked upon as right. The words of Blackstone and other great men made but little impression; and yet Blackstone's words were, and are, and always will be, the truth:

"The earth and all things therein are the general property of all mankind from the immediate gift of the Creator. Thus the ground was in common, and no part of it was permanent property of any man in particular. Thus, also, a vine or other tree might be said to be in common, as all men were equally entitled to its produce; and yet any private individual might gain the sole property of the fruit which he had gathered for his own repast.

"BLACKSTONE."

The question now arises, why was the system of the private ownership of land transplanted to America?

Simply because at first there was an abundance of land and but a handful of people. Then the land question was

of no special importance. But time has shown the mistake, and time will make it plain to all.

A writer in *The American Magazine of Civics*, Mr. J. A. Collins, discusses the subject of the Decadence of American Home Ownership, in the light of the last census. At the outset he tells us to be prepared for startling facts, and for threatening and dangerous indications. We quote as follows:

"A few decades ago the great bulk of the population was made up of home-owners, and their homes were practically free from incumbrance; to-day the vast bulk of the population are tenants."

Since the occupant of a mortgaged home is virtually but a tenant of the mortgagee, he finds 84 per cent of the families of this nation virtually tenants, and adds:

"Think of this startling result having been produced in so short a time, with the vast domain of free lands in the West open to settlers, with the great fields of industry open and offering employment at good pay; and then consider what is to be the result with the great West all occupied, or its lands all monopolized, a population increased by the addition of millions, both by natural increase and by immigration, the mineral lands and mines controlled by syndicates of foreign capital; the transportation system controlled in the interest of a few millionaire owners; the manufactures operated by great corporations in their own interest; with the public lands exhausted, and

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the home sites monopolized and held by speculators beyond the reach of the industrial masses."

Less than one-fifth of the American people have a clear title to a home. More than 300,000,000 acres of land are owned by foreign and domestic capitalists; 120,000,000 of this is rented; and the balance is owned by the great railway corporations.

Even in 1889 State Assessor Wood of New York was quoted as follows: "In a few years there will be few or none but tenement farmers in this state. Year by year the value of farm land depreciates."

It is a fact that no nation in the world, save Great Britain, shows so large a per cent of tenement farmers as the United States. In the state of Nevada three men practically control all the land suitable for agricultural purposes, by simply controlling the irrigation facilities. British capitalists are draining 120,000 acres of land at Cape Girardeau, Mo., and will farm it under the most scientific system. They will be able thus to produce at one-third the cost to the average farmer.

By a decision of the Supreme Court, Archbishop Ireland is made owner of fifty thousand acres of land in Minnesota, and according to dispatches will begin ejection proceedings against the families who have settled upon the land, in order to make an honorable living.

The following is taken from the Appeal to Reason:

"A piece of land 31x51 feet in New York City was leased the other day for twenty years at an annual rental

of \$40,000. It was bought a short time ago for \$100,000. This \$40,000 a year is added to the cost of doing business by additions to the cost of goods and the public pays it. The owner does nothing for society, did not even build a shanty on it—the lessee having to do that. This is one of the ways that labor is robbed—but so cunningly hid that but few see it. Thousands of millions annually are thus put onto the working classes for the benefit of the drones.”

The following are the words of Dr. McGlynn:

“To take possession of these natural bounties, to monopolize them under cover of law and custom, and to make all men who would use them pay beforehand for the privilege, have been the aim of the money-makers since time began. It is an easy matter to run up a fortune of one hundred millions when you can tax for two or three decades the millions who must buy bread and meat, timber and coal, cotton and wool, which all come from the land. This is what has been done directly in European countries, where, as in the British nation and in Ireland, millions of acres have been seized by the few under cover of the law, and the people have been compelled to pay first for permission to get at the land, then for permission to continue their labor on it.

“The same thing happened indirectly in this country when millions of acres were given to the great railroads, and capitalists were permitted to get hold of millions more by various subterfuges, all to be held with a tight grip until the tide of immigration had swarmed in. These prop-

erties to untold values, when they were sold off at rates that made millionaires as common in this country and in Europe as knights in England. The readers of newspapers are well acquainted with the career and methods of the coal barons of Pennsylvania and elsewhere, who got hold of the great coal-producing districts under cover of law, and for forty years have levied tribute on consumers and miners alike by every device that human ingenuity could invent without regard to justice. . . .

"Just as the few get control, almost absolute control, of the natural bounties, so they also get control of the means of transportation in a country. What this means is best comprehended by the statement that society makes no advance without a proper exchange of commodities; for civilization to improve on every side, men must have the greatest facilities for exchanging the work of their hands. . . .

Ease of transportation is, therefore, as vitally necessary to the laborer as ease in getting at the natural bounties; and as all men are laborers in the true sense of the word, the few who have placed themselves in charge of the transportation facilities of a nation get incredibly rich in the briefest time, because they tax more thoroughly and absolutely every human being in their jurisdiction than does the government itself.

"The Vanderbilts are worth perhaps a third of a billion to-day. How did they get it? By hard labor? No. By using the privileges foolishly granted them by the foolish people: the right of way over the state of New York; the

right to fix what rates of freight and passage the citizens of the community must pay to use their own roads; the right to hold immense domains of the State as the creation of their own hands. . . . No individual or corporation should be allowed to amass billions out of these public properties. . . .”

Henry George says:

“Since man can only live on land and from land, since land is the reservoir of matter and force from which man’s body itself is taken, and on which he must draw for all that he can produce, does it not irresistibly follow that to give the land in ownership to some men and deny to others all right to it is to divide mankind into the rich and the poor, the privileged and the helpless? Does it not follow that those who have no rights to the use of land can live only by selling their power to labor to those who own the land?

“Thus, so long as private property in land continues—so long as some men are treated as owners of the earth and other men can live on it only by their sufferance—human wisdom can devise no means by which the evils of our present condition may be avoided.”

Is it any wonder that with such conditions prevailing and growing worse the independence of the farmer is passing? And, further, is it not apparent that the country, instead of furnishing a haven in time of trouble, will furnish fuel for the coming conflagration? And is it not plain that the farmer, instead of being the staid, conserva-

tive member of society, is ripe for any radical uprising?

Information from every available source shows that the condition of the American farmer has steadily declined, until today the income per capita of the farming population is 26c per day.

In addition to this, he is not nearly as independent of society now as he used to be. The time was when he could live almost apart and away from society and get along nicely. But that is all gone. "No man liveth or dieth to himself," applies to the farmer as well as to everybody else to-day. Let us briefly analyze his present condition.

Society to-day is a very complex organism. With all of its branches of work divided and sub-divided, its members are interdependent. Formerly the farmer was not included in this. To-day he is.

Instead of the farmer producing all of his food and clothing on the farm, and himself building log houses and barns; instead of doing his work without machinery; instead of supplying all of his needs from his farm, he must now go to society for a thousand things.

He can no longer be his own blacksmith, butcher and carpenter. His clothing, stockings, etc., are no longer produced on the farm. For all of these things he must go to society, even for such things as butter and cheese, which to-day come from the factories.

He, like everybody else, has become a specialist. He





The Farmer is Fleeced
by them All.

sticks to raising one or two things only. Hence his dependence on society for all of his other necessities.

Even then he cannot confine himself to his specialty without society helping him in that.

First, he must have the railroad to carry away his crops and bring to him machinery, tools, supplies, etc. The elevator, stock yards, and telegraphs play an important part in his life.

The scythe, pitchfork and hand rake have given place to the six-foot-cut mower, the sulky tedder and horsefork. The windmill has taken the place of the well, and the steam thresher, with automatic feeder and blow stacker, does in an hour the work that once kept the flail busy for a week.

In short, the tendency toward specialization is the same on the farm almost as in the factory, and has the same effect. Being, then, such a member of society, he is helped or injured by everything that helps or injures it. Strikes and panics effect him; wars and rumors of war; the rains of India, and the floods of Russia; all play upon him. He is no longer far removed from us; he is one of us.

But he is still a serf to the landlord, the trusts and big corporations. Let us see. First of all, his productive power has been greatly increased. It does him no good. He works so many days in the year for the mortgager; a certain number of days for the harvest machine manufacturer, the wire and twine trust, and so on down the

line. The time he has left is his own, which is, as in the case of the serf of old, a bare living.

To-day he has the form and appearance of owning the land, but in reality he only accumulates for others. What he really owns is a permanent and exhausting job that nets him a few cents per day. His work is like the sweated trades of the city slums. It is work done at home. Himself, wife, sons and daughters all toil laboriously, from sunrise to sunset, with but few holidays and little recreation.

The farmer would see the point and raise a great protest if he were asked to do the same thing on one of the big syndicate or bonanza farms. But now he congratulates himself that he is not at the caprice of some employer in a factory who might discharge him at will. In the meantime his wife is frequently driven insane by the grinding toil, as statistics show. His children also must often stop school to help in the field.

There was a time long ago when the farmer knew he was a serf, and did not pretend to be free. In those days he worked only a certain number of days for himself, and a certain number for his lord. But to-day some think he is free in spite of the fact that all of his products, almost, are taken from him by our modern industrial system, that leaves him but a mere pittance for himself. He is almost a serf to-day, under different conditions.

In the olden time if the farmer could not sell his product he could consume it himself. To-day he must sell it

to get hold of money. He could not live under modern complex conditions without money. Thus often he is forced to sell at the lowest prices. Other farmers fare likewise. Keen competition prevails. This competition is further increased by the annihilation of distance, as the railroads handling products from far and near bring him in competition with all his class.

Almost as bad off as the factory hand, he has no unions like them to uphold prices. He is unorganized; belongs to no trust, and there is nothing to prevent his income being reduced steadily each year.

These are all facts—serious facts—that must be dealt with soberly. No light, superficial treatment will suffice. The class it concerns is too large; the people that comprise it too honest and hardworking. How grating on the nerves, then, are the observations of some of our would-be thinkers and leaders.

While attending a convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City, Bishop Worthington's views respecting the social commotion were gleaned by a newspaper man and published broadcast on October 25, '96. He is reported to have said:

"The trouble with the farmer, in my judgment, is that we have carried our free educational system entirely too far. Of course, I know that this view will be considered as a bit of heresy, but still I believe it. The farmer's sons—a great many of them—who have absolutely no ability to rise, get a taste of education and follow it up. They will

never amount to anything—that is, many of them—and they become dissatisfied to follow in the walk of life that God intended they should, and drift into the cities. It is the over-education of those who are not qualified to receive it that fills our cities while the farms lie idle.”

HON. W. J. BRYAN'S REPLY.

As to the justice of the Bishop's suggestion, we leave it for Mr. W. J. Bryan to answer, quoting from his press-reported reply as follows:

“To talk about the over-education of the farmers' sons and to attribute the difficulties which surround us to-day to over-education, is, to my mind, one of the most cruel things a man ever uttered. The idea of saying that farmers' sons, who are not able to rise in life, get a taste of education, and enjoy the taste so much that they follow it up and become dissatisfied with the farm and drift into the cities! The idea of saying that there is over-education among our farmers' sons! My friends, do you know what that language means? It means a reversal of the progress of civilization and a march toward the dark ages again.

“How can you tell which one of the farmers' sons is going to prove a great man until you have educated them all? Are we to select a commission to go around and pick out the ones that are to be educated?

“Ah, my friends, there is another reason why people have gone into the cities and left the farms. It is because your legislation has been causing the foreclosure of mortgages on the farmers and the farms. It is because your

legislation has been making the farmer's life harder for the farmer; it is because the non-producing classes have been producing the laws and making it more profitable to gamble in farm products than to produce them.

"The idea of laying the blame of the present condition at the farmer's door! The idea of suggesting as a remedy the closing of schools in order that the people may not become dissatisfied! Why, my friends, there will be dissatisfaction so long as the cause for dissatisfaction exists. Instead of attempting to prevent people realizing their condition, why don't these critics try to improve the condition of the farmers of this country?"

The Appeal to Reason says:

"The demand for servant girls in the cities is greater than the supply, so the papers state. The farmers should send their daughters to the cities to wait on the drones. After raising the food of the world to feed the drones, the farmers should train their girls to cook for them! And make their clothes! and clean their houses! That is the system. The number of people who are getting a graft on production that enables them to charge a profit on the farmers and workers sufficient to enable them to live thus, increases rapidly, hence the scarcity of 'servant girls.' 'Servants' is the same term applied to the black slaves. At a time when the girls and boys are needed at home to ease down the life of the father and mother who have raised and loved and suffered for them, the industrial conditions are made so hard that they are forced to go out

'into service' for the fellows who have been charging the parents a profit on what they had to buy large enough to pay their sons and daughters a wage. In reality, the parents pay the wages by this profit, while the drones get the service. Only poverty compels the girls and boys to work for the drones. Poverty is necessary to have service and the drones see that poverty exists. Otherwise they would have to do their own work."

To recapitulate, then, it would first of all be out of the question for the mass of the people to think of fleeing to the country and taking up farming, when the great social and industrial troubles break upon society. And second, we may look for disturbances to break out amongst the farming population at any time. The landlord, the trust, competition, and, in fact, all of the evils of our present industrial system, have been at work and have changed the farmer—the once sturdy and conservative element of society—into a seething and discontented class, ready to resort to any and everything to change a system that works so many wrongs and hardships upon them. Such items as the following have opened the eyes of the farmer and set him to thinking.

A recent editorial in the San Francisco Examiner says:

"Mr. W. K. Vanderbilt's huge British steam yacht Valiante has joined Mr. F. W. Vanderbilt's British steam yacht Conqueror in New York harbor. The Valiante cost \$800,000. This represents the profits on a crop of about 15,000,000 bushels of sixty-cent wheat, or the entire prod-

uct of at least 8,000 160-acre farms. In other words, 8,000 farmers, representing 40,000 men, women and children, worked through sun and storm to enable Mr. Vanderbilt to have built in a foreign shipyard such a pleasure craft as no sovereign in Europe possesses. The construction of that vessel required the labor of at least 1,000 mechanics for a year. The money she cost, put in circulation among our workmen, would have had a perceptible influence upon the state of times in some quarters."

The present tendency of things indicates that the time will come before long when we will have a landlord and a landless population in the place of the farmers. But the probabilities are that before the culmination of such an unhappy condition of affairs, society will be in the throes of a deadly revolution. A revolution long in preparation, and slow to manifest itself, yet none the less terrible and far-reaching in its effects when once precipitated.

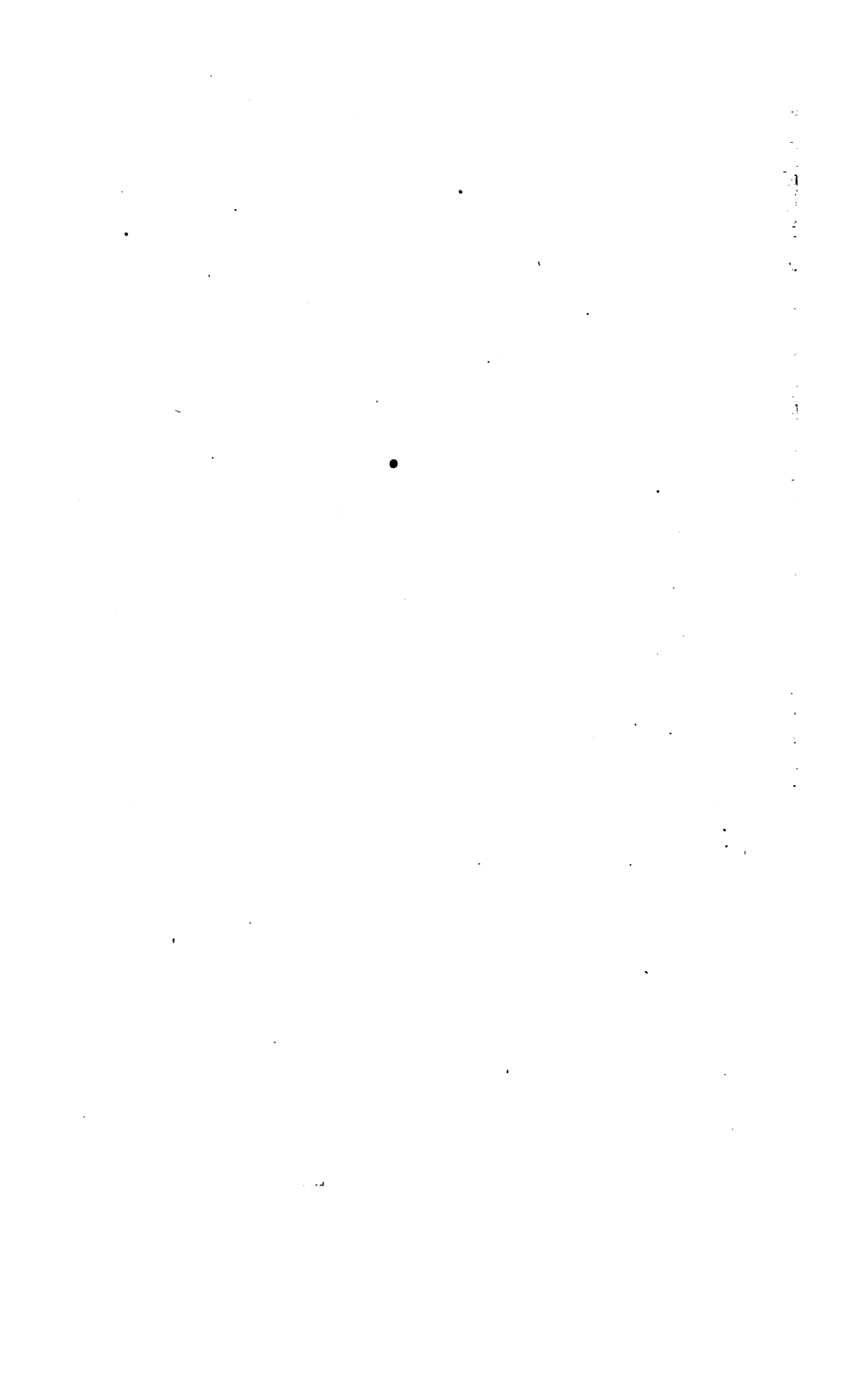
CHAPTER XVIII.

PLUTOCRACY.

Banks and the Money Power—What Scarcity of Money
Means—How It is Manipulated By Wall Street and
the Banks—A Villainous System That Enslaves
the Industries and People of the Country
—Speculators; Watered Stock;
Methods of Finance.

The great revolution will be preceded and precipitated by a money panic. After a general survey of the field, the important bearing of money, the money power and banks becomes apparent. Also the expediency of reserving the discussion of these factors until now.

At the bottom of the whole financial system is a scarcity of money. There is not nearly enough money to conduct the business of the country on. Money in a very limited quantity is what the money-lenders want, and is the chief characteristic of our present financial system. Were money plentiful their occupation would be gone. They see that it is kept scarce. It is estimated that the volume





Plutocracy Enthroned.

of business transacted in this country is eight times as great as the amount of money in circulation. In case of panic, each dollar is wanted eight times over and wanted badly. The money lenders deceive the public in every way. They say money is sensitive; capital is timid. They say anything but that money is scarce.

The fall of 1902 saw the country almost thrown into a panic. Large crops had to be moved, and the cry was raised, "there is not enough money." For a few days things looked serious on Wall Street. Toward it all eyes were turned. Had Wall Street succumbed it would have been felt all over the country.

Trouble was averted by Rockefeller and Morgan coming to the rescue. They bought heavily, kept up prices and showed by their ability to prevent a panic that they also have power to cause one if they so choose.

Mr. Shaw, the Secretary of the Treasury, also came to the rescue. To the average citizen it seems strange that the government would let the banks have large sums of money without interest, but when the citizen comes to the bank he must pay interest for all money he borrows. This is the way the money power takes care of itself.

At nearly all times in the history of the world there has been a money power. Reformation has taken place in everything else but this. Many political and social wrongs have been righted; slavery and much oppression abolished, but the money power, unmolested, is as strong to-day as ever. It sits enthroned in the high places. At its dicta-

tion rulers bend. Its mandates, the legislatures, the judiciary and executive authorities of the government obey. Its power is enormous. It controls the numerous class that are borrowers at its counters. It controls and muzzles the press. It controls a large and influential class of salaried officials, clerks, etc., all of whom find it to their interest to sanction its policy or remain discreetly silent. It stops at nothing to attain its end. When better means fail, fraud is resorted to in any way, shape or form. Sometimes it is perpetrated on a gigantic scale. The first, and one of the greatest frauds ever consummated was the demonetization of silver in 1873, when less than half a dozen Senators and Congressmen were aware of what was taking place.

Though the remonetization of silver at present might result in upsetting things and producing a series of evil results, the fact remains that a most heinous crime was perpetrated against the people when it was demonetized, without their permission, and without their knowledge. We give the opinion of different Senators and Congressmen.

Senator Thurman said:

"When the bill was pending in the Senate we thought it was simply a bill to reform the mint, regulate coinage and fix up one thing and another, and there is not a single man in the Senate, I think, unless a member of the committee from which the bill came, who had the slightest

idea that it was even a squint toward 'demonetization.'—Congressional Record, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1,064.

Senator Conkling in the Senate, on March 30, 1876, during the remarks of Senator Bogy on the bill (S. 263) To Amend the Laws Relating to Legal Tender of Silver Coin, in surprise inquired:

"Will the Senator allow me to ask him or some other Senator a question? Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar? And, if so, is it true that the effect of this bill is to make half-dollars and quarter-dollars the only silver coin which can be used as a legal tender?"

Senator Allison, on February 15, 1878, said:

"But when the secret history of this bill of 1873 comes to be told, it will disclose the fact that the House of Representatives intended to coin both gold and silver, and intended to place both metals upon the French relation, instead of on our own, which was the true scientific position with reference to this subject in 1873, but that the bill afterward was doctored."

Hon. William D. Kelley, who had charge of the bill, in a speech made in the House of Representatives, March 9, 1878, said:

"In connection with the charge that I advocated the bill which demonetized the standard silver dollar I say that, though the chairman of the committee on coinage, I was ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar from our system of coins, as were those dis-

tirguished Senators, Messrs. Blaine and Voorhees, who were then members of the House, and each of whom a few days since interrogated the other: 'Did you know it was dropped when the bill passed?' 'No,' said Mr. Blaine, 'did you?' 'No,' said Mr. Voorhees. 'I do not think that there were three members in the House that knew it.'"

Again, on May 10, 1879, Mr. Kelley said:

"All I can say is that the committee on coinage, weights and measures, who reported the original bill, were faithful and able, and scanned the provisions closely; that as their organ I reported it; that it contained provision for both the standard silver dollar and the trade dollar. Never having heard until a long time after its enactment into law of the substitution in the Senate of the section which dropped the standard dollar, I profess to know nothing of its history; but I am prepared to say that in all the legislation of this country there is no mystery equal to the demonetization of the standard silver dollar of the United States. I have never found a man who could tell just how it came about or why."

Senator Beck, in a speech before the Senate, January 10, 1878, said:

"It (the bill demonetizing silver) never was understood by either House of Congress. I say that with full knowledge of facts. No newspaper reporter—and they are the most vigilant men I ever saw in obtaining information—discovered that it had been done."

Mr. Murat Halstead, editor of the Cincinnati Com-

mercial Gazette, is one of the able men of to-day. The following from his pen under date of October 24, 1877, is quoted from the New York Journal:

"This, the British gold policy, was the work of experts only. Evasion was essential to success in it, and possibly because coin was not in circulation, and, being out of public view, it could be tampered with without attracting attention. The monometallic system of the great creditor nation was thus imposed upon the great debtor nation without debate."

The following words are publicly credited to Col. R. G. Ingersoll:

"I do ask for the remonetization of silver. Silver was demonetized by fraud. It was an imposition upon every solvent man, a fraud upon every honest debtor in the United States. It assassinates labor. It was done in the interest of avarice and greed, and should be undone by honest men."

That the effect would be as it is was foretold by numerous statesmen upon the floors of Congress as soon as the true situation was realized—1877 to 1880. Some were blind to the issue, and some were quieted by self-interest, and some relied upon the advice of "financiers," but others spoke valiantly against the wrong.

The late Hon. James G. Blaine said in a speech before the United States Senate (1880):

"I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if suc-

cessful, produce widespread disaster in and throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money, and the establishment of gold as the sole unit of value, must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly \$7,000,000,000 of coin or bullion in the world, very equally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results that will prove distressing to millions, and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands. I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the constitution; indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the constitution, which the great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare either metal should not be money; Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize either. If, therefore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. If its coinage has been prohibited, I am in favor of ordering it to be resumed. I am in favor of having it enlarged."

The late Senator Vance said later:

"The power of money and its allies throughout the world have entered into this conspiracy to perpetrate the greatest crime of this or any other age, to overthrow one-half of the world's money and thereby double their own

wealth by enhancing the value of the other half which is in their hands. The money changers are polluting the temple of our liberties."

The United States' government recently sent official letters to its representatives in foreign countries, requesting reports on monetary affairs. The report of Mr. Currie, Minister to Belgium, recently published, is a remarkable showing, in harmony with the experiences of the people of the United States. He reports the following reply to his questions given by the Hon. Alfonse Allard, Belgian Director of Finance:

"Since 1873 a crisis, consisting in a fall in all prices, exists continually, nor does it appear possible to arrest its progress. This fall in prices, reacting on wages, is now evolving a social and industrial crisis.

"You ask me why we returned in 1873 to monometallism, limping though it be. I can conceive no other reason, unless that it was to please a certain class of financiers who profited thereby—a class supported by theories invented and defended at that time by some political economists, notably by members of the Institute of France.

"You ask what influence these monetary measures have had in Belgium on industry and wages? Money, which was already scarce in 1873, has become still scarcer, and that fall in prices which was predicted has taken place. The average fall in the price of all the products of labor is 50 per cent since 1873—that of cereals over 65 per cent. Industry is no longer remunerative, agriculture is ruined,

and everybody is clamoring for protection by duties, while our ruined citizens think of war. Such is the sad condition of Europe."

The New York World, under date of September 24, '96, publishes the following words of Prince Bismarck to Herr von Kardorf, leader of the Free Conservative Party in the German Reichstag:

"I am too old to go to school over the currency issue, but I recognize that, although I acted in 1873 on what I regarded as the best advice, my action was too precipitate in view of the results which have followed.

"The one class that we cannot afford to estrange is the farming class. If they are convinced, and they assure you they are convinced, that agricultural depression is peculiar to these monetary changes, our government must review its position."

Thus, evidence in abundance, and from all sources, might be adduced to prove that fraud—stupendous fraud—was committed in 1873, when silver was demonetized. And though it may be proven that the remonetization of silver would bring the most evil results, the fraud is still a fraud, and unjustifiable from any standpoint.

But fraud is not always necessary for the money power to attain its ends. Frequently laws that favor it and operate against the people are openly passed, and with very little protest from any source, for those who understand are generally in a position to be benefited, and remain silent, while the great majority who are being in-

jured have never investigated and do not understand. Those who honestly protest are in the minority. These are sometimes silenced by being called calamity howlers, yellow journalists, etc. Then, there are others who perceive and understand how things are going, but have no way of making themselves heard.

Thus it is that the money power has feathered its nest with surprising audacity and impunity.

The chief instrument of the money power—one that attains its ends, that yields it golden harvests, that brings to it enormous incomes, in an eminently respectable way, is the bank.

It is remarkable, the superstition that prevails in regard to the National Banks. Nothing seems so respectable, safe and sound. Many are laboring under the delusion that the system is the grandest ever devised. While this delusion prevails at present, it is being dispelled, and in a few more years enlightenment on the subject will be general.

I wish to ask just one question to prove my radical statements.

If security, soundness and the people's welfare were desired, why have not Postal Savings Banks been adopted?

In England these institutions were established in 1861; in Canada in 1868; in Austria-Hungary in 1883; they have also been established in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden, India, Ceylon, Finland, Japan, Argentina, Aus-

tralia, New Zealand, Hawaii and Trinidad. Postal savings banks have been adopted by almost every civilized nation in the world except the United States.

Why should we not have them? Dr. C. F. Taylor states in *The Medical World* that he has corresponded with a large number of Congressmen on the subject, and in reply to this question, W. W. Bower, member of Congress from San Diego, Calif., sent a copy of his "Postal Savings Bill," which has been pending in Congress for years, and writes: "Bankers and money sharks do not want any postal saving system. That is the answer to your 'why not?'"

Just think! A score of countries have government banks, which are absolutely safe, sound and secure. The United States is a conspicuous exception. Why is this? Bankers and money sharks do not want it. Of course not. No matter how secure these United States Banks would be, the money power wishes to reserve this business for themselves. The money power is stronger in the United States than anywhere else. Were the government to engage in the banking business they would be crowded out. Their golden harvests would be reaped by the government, which is the people themselves. The stream of wealth flowing into their pockets would cease. That is why we have private and National, instead of strong government banks.

Freedom says:

"Under the Constitution of the United States it is the sovereign function of Congress to supply the nation with money. The function of supplying money ever since gov-

ernments were first established has been always regarded as a sovereign function, i. e., a function belonging exclusively to the sovereign power, to the government itself. Congress in the very beginning of our government exercised this sovereign function, one, the exercise of which, more than any other, directly touches every individual in the nation, for the reason that in civilized society money is an absolute necessity. In a civilized state, the demand for any product or commodity or service, whether it be the simplest necessity or the greatest luxury, expresses itself in the shape of money, civilization's sole purchasing agent. It is only the beggar that makes a demand directly for food or clothing. It is for this reason that it is said 'The demand for money is equivalent to the sum of demands for all things whatsoever'—money being the instrumentality through which the wants of man are satisfied.

"In 1863, under the influence of the bankers, brokers any money lending classes, who alone could be benefited by the scheme, and without any demand having been made therefor by the people who have for 35 years been the victims of that evil legislation, the Congress of the United States enacted the national banking law yet in force. The National Banks under this law were permitted to use their capital in buying securities and then depositing the securities with the United States government (just as some years ago the Farmers' Alliance asked permission to do) and then to issue their own promissory notes (payable on demand only at the bank issuing them) to the extent of 90

per cent of the face value of the securities so deposited. These securities were bonds bearing interest at 6 per cent in gold. Congress made these notes receivable as money, in effect indorsing the notes of the bank and causing them to pass as money. On the bonds deposited as securities for the notes the bankers got the interest, which was payable every six months, and they loaned their own promissory notes out to the people as money and drew a heavy interest upon them, thus also getting interest on what they, the banks, owed.

"In effect the banks got two interests on their capital, one on their bonds and one on their own notes loaned out to the people. Congress could as well have issued paper money (as it had previously done) as to have farmed out that sovereign privilege to the money lenders who organized the banks, and thus have saved the people more than \$1,000,000,000 that would have been left with the people instead of having been paid over to the 'rich' few, who now substantially own the property of the country.

"Congress could as well, as fairly and as reasonably have turned over to other corporations the sovereign functions of levying taxes, raising armies, borrowing money on the credit of the United States, passing bankrupt laws, declaring war, establishing courts or exercising any other sovereign function of government as to turn over to the National Banking corporations, as it did, the sovereign function of furnishing the currency with which the American

people have been compelled for 35 years to transact their business."

This is characteristic of the money power; to compel the government to turn over the sovereign function of issuing money to them; and characteristic of the people also is their dullness in perceiving the iniquity of it all. No wonder they grow richer. No wonder their fortunes are figured in fabulous numbers.

The Appeal to Reason says:

"The First National Bank of New York City pays 50 per cent a year on its capital stock besides princely salaries for its officers. How would farmers like such a return after drawing \$50,000 a year for superintendence and the pay of all the people who did the work on the farm? But are they not more benefit to the nation than mere money-changers? Yes, the country is exceeding prosperous! For the bankers. The farmers are no part of the country and hence are not considered."

Again, this paper prints the following:

"Please explain how the government has printed and given to the banks \$349,856,276 in bank notes without any benefit or equivalent.—A Reader.

"That was the amount of the bank notes in circulation reported by the United States treasury department on January 1. This amount was printed by the government and given to the banks for their use. They deposited bonds to secure the notes, but the government paid the same interest on the notes as if they had not been de-

posited. The government got no return for the use of these notes. It taxes the banks enough to pay for the printing and care of the notes, thus saving the bank the expense and trouble of such printing and care. But no BENEFIT to the government was received. It is strange that the people are so innocent of the character of the national banking scheme—a scheme pure and simple to give one set of citizens money free while the others who furnish the money have to pay for its use. There is no reason why the government should not print and use its money instead of printing and giving it to the banks. If its money is good in the hands of bankers it is good in the hands of the government. It seems to me that a child should be able to see the cheat—but the politicians are controlled by the bankers and their friends and make laws for their friends instead of the public. Why should the government give the banks the face of their bonds in bank notes and still pay the banks the interest on the bonds? Would you give a man who held your note the money for the note and then pay him interest on the note also? But that is just what the government (of, by and for bankers) does to bond holders—IF THEY ARE NATIONAL BANKERS. Write your member of Congress for a copy of the banking law and study up. It will be worth the mental cost."

"Will you tell us whether or not somebody isn't paying interest on all National Bank notes in circulation? If not, why are they in circulation?—G. B. Hoitt, Exeter, N. H.

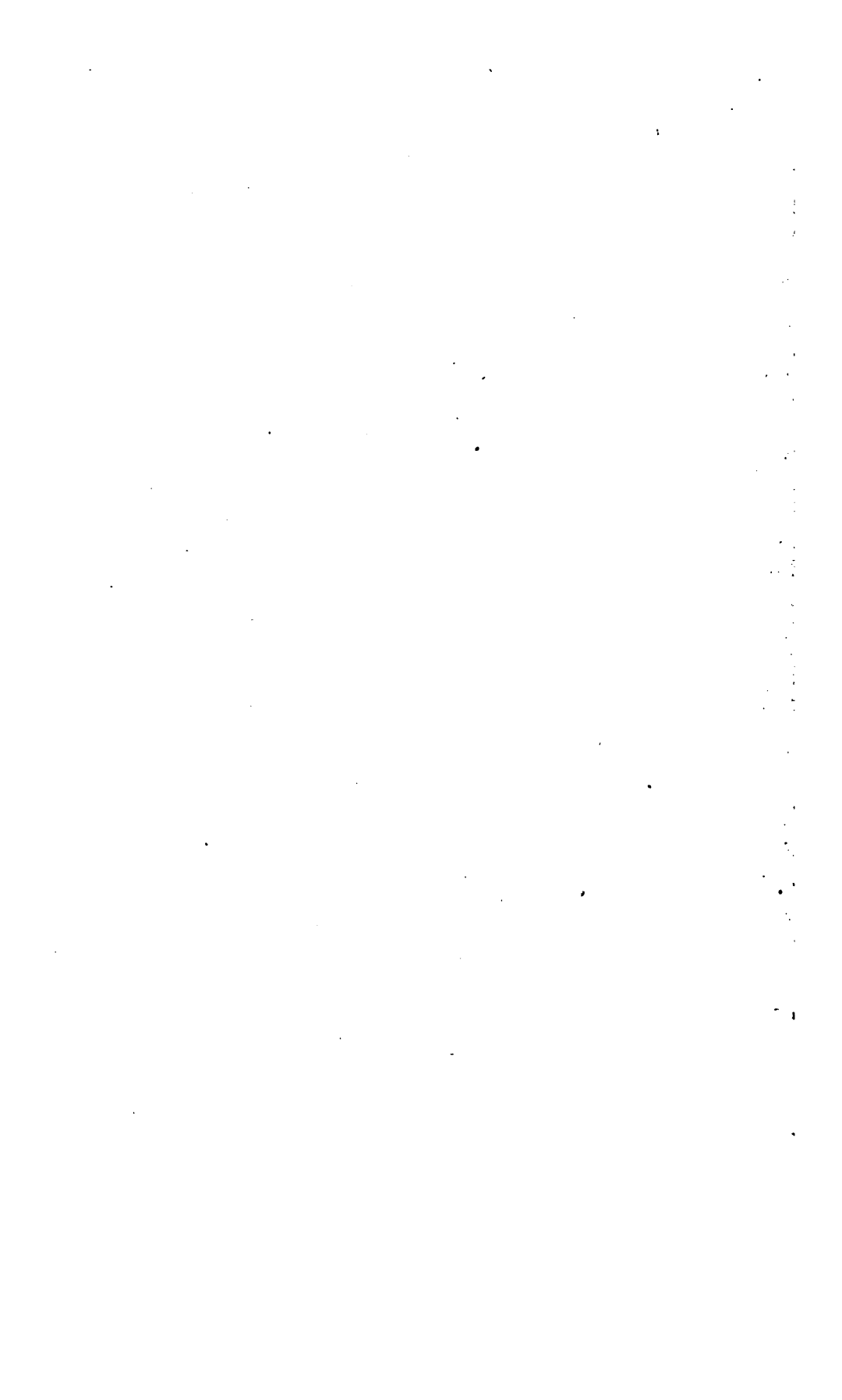
"Guess somebody must be cinched for the per cent. I never knew of banks giving away the notes after the government printed and placed them in their lilly white hands. That is their business—loaning. Not only are they drawing interest on the notes, but when the notes are re-deposited by some one whom the borrower has paid, the bank loans them again and gets another interest. THIS IS DONE AN AVERAGE OF TEN TIMES FOR EACH DOLLAR. Ask something hard."

In regard to the safety of these institutions, this same paper has the following interesting article:

"The Pittsburg, Pa., Press of March 31, calls attention with pride to the fact that savings bank reports show that deposits are \$600,000,000 greater than all the monies of every kind in the nation—that if the depositors of savings banks alone were to withdraw their deposits there would not be money enough in the nation to pay them. The Press says if they were to do so other nations would supply the money thus withdrawn so that business would go right on. Just think of the other nations sending us over their pound, shilling and pence; their peso, crown, franc, colon, sucre, piasters, mark, drachma, gourde, rupee, lira, yen, florin, sol, milres, ruble, etc? What a nice time we would have doing business with the money of other nations. One nation does not furnish another nation money. Metal passes back and forth between nations, but it is not money until it has gone through the mint of the nation. But what strikes me most in the matter is, that all
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the money in the nation is owned by savings bank depositors, and that the trusts use that money to organize trusts and monopolies and skin the very people who furnish the money they are using! If the people were to withdraw their money from the banks every monopolist in the nation would be broken, but the people would not be broken, for they would have their money in their pockets to take advantage of the great tumble in prices that would occur. It was the knowing of this fact that during the run on some Chicago bank two years ago, the late P. D. Armour stood along the long line of depositors and urged them to leave their money in bank, offering to give his personal security for their deposits. If the depositors had all demanded their money, Armour would have been ruined, and with him many others, whose sole hold on their wealth is the fact that the masses stupidly put their money in banks for these gentlemen to manipulate. But some fine morning the trusts will wake up and find that the people have 'lost confidence,' and have demanded their money and there will be no loans for their manipulating the market. Keeping the masses ignorant of the fact that their deposits are the basis of every speculation and every trust and monopoly is working all right just now. 'But you can't fool all the people all the time.'"

"The banks of the United States owe their depositors nearly \$9,000,000,000 and have less than \$900,000,000 in cash! There are only \$2,255,000,000 of money of all kinds





Why are we not given Postal Savings Banks?
Think it over.

in this nation. Well, maybe there will not be a harvest, by and by!"

"Preston, Wis., is a town whose citizens would resent the statement that their place lacked in civilization, and would point with pride to the handsome building next door to a modest hotel on which 'BANK' stood out in bold relief. The bank was the only thing that prevented the burglar from breaking in and taking the hard earnings of a life time, and the young and old, man and maid, hurried to its iron box to deposit in safety their daily gatherings of nickels. It was run by the eminently respectable class, the pillars of society and church, who alone prevented the social structure from turning back to barbarism. The credulous had deposited about \$200,000 with this safe institution, and when the pie was opened the other day there was \$75 in money and \$250 in notes in the bank. The balance had been—not stolen, my dear, not stolen; that would be harsh—but had been financed out of sight by cashier Todd. It is only one of thousands that have occurred and will continue to occur under the system of private or so-called national banking. Writing up this incident in the course of our national prosperity, the St. Paul Dispatch runs the following headlines, which tell the tale in a nut shell. You keep your money in one of these safe banks, eh? Had the losers read and heeded the Appeal they would not now be mourning. Government banks would be too paternalistic for you, eh? Here are the headlines:

“Todd Confesses That He Gave \$35,000 to J. R. Clement, of La Crosse, Without Consideration—Mrs. Julia F. Greenleaf, Once Prominent in St. Paul Society, and Who Was Left \$150,000 Upon the Death of Her Husband, Is Penniless—Todd Admits That He Has Not for Years Kept a Proper Set of Books for the Bank—Admits That He Had Practical Control of the Greenleaf Estate, but Says He Does Not Know What Became of the Property—Widows, Orphans and Farmers are the Principal Sufferers, the Business Men Having Let the Institution Severely Alone—He Tears a Number of Pages from His Ledger to Hide the Identity of the Person or Persons Who Received the Cash—Miss Laura Rolfe Loses the \$1,000 She Saved to Attend the State University—Farmers Looking for a High Rate of Interest Are Caught—Geo. Cook’s Losses Prevent Him Going to Dying Father’s Bedside—Harry Hurum Lost Accumulations for an European Trip—Mrs. Diebred, a Very Old Lady, Lost \$900, a Life’s Savings, &c.’”

The marvel is, that the banks, after having secured the privilege of issuing the money of the country, do not discharge the function with extreme care and caution for fear of losing it. But they seem to have no such fear: not only so, for instead of being satisfied as things are, they do everything in their power to increase the burden of debt. This can be proven.

If nobody were in debt, bankers and money lenders would have to go out of business, for none would need to

borrow. Therefore, a system that upholds or forces credits is necessary to their existence. Would they like to see everybody out of debt? Not for an instant. They want to see debt increase. And they work to attain that end. The more debt increases, the more their business flourishes, and the greater their profits. Let us see how they proceed to increase and perpetuate debt.

If we estimate the debts of the country at \$40,000,000,000 (which would probably under, rather than over state, the amount), and the population at 70,000,000, it would make the debt \$571 for each individual; or estimating five to a family (i. e., a man, his wife and three children), it would make the debt already loaded onto each active man, even the poorest, amount to \$2,855. Every child in the country is born with a heavy mortgage on it.

A perpetual bonded debt has been saddled on the people. Repeated concessions to banking interests; the various so-called refunding acts, which have each time so changed the terms, that no progress is made in wiping out debts; the donation by Congress of public lands and guaranteed railroad bonds to build railroads; and finally the watering of stocks, are some of the different methods used to increase and perpetuate debt.

The last-named method is the most simple and the one the public know most about. Everybody knows to-day that stocks are watered to the limit. And everybody expects that when the inflation reaches a certain mark a

collapse will ensue. At times these collapses result in panic.

The elder Vanderbilt almost at a single stroke of the pen issued millions of dollars of watered railroad stock. By so doing he, in effect, created an enormous mortgage and placed it on the industry of the country. The actual workers have been toiling ever since to pay the interest on that immense sum. The people who at present hold those "securities" simply "fleece" labor year after year out of what they receive. Did Vanderbilt "rob" industry to that extent? How long will the people continue to patiently carry the load thus unjustly imposed upon them?

The same line of reasoning can of course be applied to other similarly acquired fortunes.

Beyond the collapses and panics few realize the deep significance and depth of these operations. But listen! Is not the debtor a slave to the creditor? Has it not been that way in all ages of the world? Are not the creditors enabled to squeeze out of the debtors a large slice of their hard earnings? Does it make any difference under what name the process goes? Is not the principle the same, even though it be called rent, interest, advanced prices for certain commodities, or profits, etc.?

Dr. McGlynn, touching on this point, says:

"Here again the world seems to be all at sea as to the elementary principles of this problem; the money-lenders alone have fixed and profitable principles, which enable them to tax every human being who uses money, for the

use and for the continuance of the favor to use it. They have placed themselves between men and the medium of exchange, just as others have placed themselves between men and the natural bounties, between men and the facilities of transporting goods to market. How can they help getting millions together as the Rothschilds have done; millions, again, that should be in greater part passing into the treasury of the community."

John Clark Ridpath, the historian, has proven that our present national debt represents more wealth than did our entire national debt of 3000 million dollars at the close of the war, thirty years ago. These are Mr. Ridpath's words:

"For thirty years the American people have been paying into that horrible maelstrom the volume of their great resources. They have paid on their debt, or at least they have paid, in this long period such a prodigious sum that arithmetic can hardly express it. The imagination cannot embrace it and yet it is the truth of the living God that in the year 1896 the national debt of the United States will purchase as its equivalent in value as much of the average of twenty-five of the leading commodities of the American market, including real estate and labor, as the same debt would purchase at its maximum on the first of March, 1866. The people have paid and paid for thirty years, and at the end have paid just this—NOTHING!"

The truth of the matter is that a Plutocracy has been built up right in our midst, and that the people have been slow to waken to the fact. This power is fast gaining con-

trol of the government and ignores the people while providing for itself.

When the speculators in Wall Street have put all the money in banks in watered stocks, the government rushes to the rescue and deposits more millions of public funds in the banks so the game of gambling can proceed. The people furnish the money for the speculators to gamble with.

Everything possible is done to favor them. But it is hard for an American citizen to believe aught against his own beloved country. Many will never believe or be convinced until the Republic begins to topple, and some, not until they behold the ruins of the greatest Republic the world has ever produced.

CHAPTER XIX.

PANICS.

**Two Kinds; Financial and Industrial—First Caused By
Scarcity of Money, Over-Speculation, Watered Stocks,
Etc.—Second Caused By Over-Production or
Under-Consumption—Latter Not Frequent,
But More Serious.**

**Why Foreign Markets Will Soon Be Gone, Thus Causing
a Glut at Home—Terrible Industrial
Panic Inevitable.**

Panics are the result of one or two causes. The collapse of speculative values and inflated stocks, or over-production. The former, generally called a money panic, is of frequent occurrence, and is generally tided over in a short time with but comparatively serious results. The latter, called an industrial panic, is of less frequent occurrence, but more widespread and serious in its results. A money panic may not be serious enough to affect business

and industry. An industrial panic is generally preceded by a financial panic.

There is no mystery about financial panics. When stocks have their values enormously inflated; when values are merely speculative; all know and expect these bubbles to burst. All predict and look for it.

But an industrial panic is different. It affects everybody; throws thousands out of work; stops the wheels of commerce, and results in general distress and trouble.

Instead of it being over-production, as it is generally called, it is really under-consumption. For though the warehouses be filled to overflowing and the poor be needy and starving, yet the latter have no access to the overflowing warehouses or it would be consumed readily enough. Let us examine this closely.

Though never before has there been anything like the productive capacity of the American people to-day, the producer is only paid back from one-seventh to one-fifth of what he produces. Is it any wonder then that the markets become glutted? At this rate, only from one-fifth to one-seventh of the vast product is consumed. The balance goes as over-production; it is really under-consumption. Given such conditions as these, the inevitable result is a decrease in the output of all productive enterprises. There being no demand for goods, a shut-down occurs in the factories, mines and shops, and a corresponding decrease of business in the stores and trading places.

An industrial panic is the blocking of the wheels of com-

merce. Even in times of peace and prosperity, this blockade will occur every time the warehouses are filled and there is no outlet, because the consumers haven't the wherewith to buy back the product.

Of course, when business ceases, wages also cease. And when wages are curtailed the buying power of the consumer is also decreased, and the panic is further augmented. Well-chosen is the name panic. It describes conditions perfectly. It is as though the populace were placed between the upper and lower mill-stones, for a glut produces low wages, and low wages increases the glut by reducing the consuming power.

And then, in addition, work being scarce, fierce competition between the wage workers ensues, and wages are forced to a still lower point.

It is just such a condition of affairs that will precede the coming revolution. Later, I shall show how the explosion will be precipitated by a panic; how a financial and industrial panic will be the spark to touch off the powder magazine.

But first I wish to consider some objections. It may be suggested that if industrial panics are caused by a glut of the markets, then by finding foreign markets and exporting the over-production, a blockade of business may be averted.

This suggestion is well made, and I will investigate it closely. If the vast product we cannot consume be shipped abroad, then a panic might be averted.

We will find, first of all, that this is just exactly what England is and has been striving to do for many years past. In fact, all Europe is just as keenly bent on saving themselves from panic by securing foreign markets as America.

Next we find that foreign countries that were once fine markets have become producers for themselves. Indeed, it can be shown that many of these countries not only produce for themselves, but have actually invaded Europe and America with their product.

And last, there is overwhelming evidence that before long there will be no more foreign market, because the foreign countries will produce more than enough for themselves. If this is true, there is no prevention of over-production and panic. And as sure as the next panic comes, it will be the match to light the fuse that will set off a long train of explosives.

But to prove all this.

Many think England's passion for territorial conquest is merely a love of acreage, or Empire expansion; or a desire to give other nations wise or better rulers. But not so. Nations are conquered to secure their trade. In this England has been successful, and her wealth has become enormous. The first nation to have over-production, she quickly sought foreign markets. The United States, equally as clever, established a tariff against her. Still she disposed of her product the world over, until the development of machinery, the increase of inventions and the

spread of civilization reduced the markets of the world for England.

Not many years ago a number of delegates came as representatives of a number of unemployed shoemakers to Lord Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary. In discussing the situation with them, he said in part:

"What you want to do is not to change the shop in which the boots are made, but to increase the demand for boots. If you can get some new demand for boots, not only those who are now working but those out of employment may find employment. That should be our great object. In addition to the special point before me, you must remember that, speaking generally, the great cure for this difficulty of want of employment is to find new markets. We are pressed out of the old markets (out of the neutral markets which used to be supplied by Great Britain) by foreign competition. At the same time, foreign governments absolutely exclude our goods from their own markets, and unless we can increase the markets which are under our control, or find new ones, this question of want of employment, already a very serious one, will become one of the greatest possible magnitude, and I see the gravest reasons for anxiety as to the complications which may possibly ensue. I put the matter before you in these general terms; but I beg you, when you hear criticisms upon the conduct of this government or of that, of this commander or of that commander, in expanding the British Empire, I beg you to bear in mind that it is not a

Jingo question, which sometimes you are induced to believe—it is not a question of unreasonable aggression, but it is really a question of continuing to do that which the English people have always done—to extend their markets and relations with the waste places of the earth; and unless that is done, and done continuously, I am certain that, grave as are the evils now, we shall have at no distant time to meet much more serious consequences.”

All of the European nations are casting longing eyes upon these foreign markets, and the competition between them is intense. But at this juncture new competition threatens them all. China and Japan are awakening from their long sleep of centuries; awakening to the fact that there is steam, electricity, machinery, etc. Already capital has begun operations in these countries. And when we remember that the population of Japan is as great as that of England, and China's five times as great as that of the United States, the prospect of equipping this cheap labor with the latest machinery is appalling. For these people are not savages, but civilized, hard-working people. They were manufacturers long before the English.

We find that capital is being invested heavily in these countries. After a time railroads and manufacturing establishments will operate as smoothly there as in England and America.

These toiling, patient, submissive, yet energetic and frugal people is just the kind of labor that capital seeks

to employ. It may not be imported to our countries, but capital may be easily sent to theirs.

The rewards of capital will be infinitely greater here, where labor can be had for from 6 cents to 15 cents per day, (even received gratefully), than at home.

Is it not plain that the foreign markets of the civilized world will soon be a thing of the past?

The Emperor of Germany, foreseeing this calamity, had an artist paint a picture representing the nations of Europe as female figures, clad in armor, standing in the light shining from a cross in the skies above them. They all appeared to be looking toward the angelic figure of Michael. Approaching them was an immense black cloud, rising from China; hideous forms and faces were shown. Under the picture appeared the words, "Nations of Europe! Join in the defense of your Faith and Homes!"

The following is extracted from an able paper in the Journal of the Imperial Colonial Institute (English), by Mr. Whitehead, a member of the Legislative Council, Hong Kong, China. It is in every way reliable. He says:

"So far, the Chinese have made but a beginning in the construction of spinning and weaving factories. On the river Yang Tsze and in the neighborhood of Shanghai, some five mills are already working, and others are in course of construction. It is estimated that they will contain about 200,000 spindles; and some of them have commenced work. The capital employed is entirely native, and with peace restored in these regions, there is, with

honest, capable management, while our present monetary system continues, really no limit to the expansion and development of industries in Oriental countries."

Mr. Whitehead discusses the recent war between China and Japan, and declares that in it lies the chief hope of China's industrial resurrection. He continues:

"The outcome of the present war may help to relieve the Chinese people from the trammels of the mandarins. China's mineral and other resources are known to be enormous, and at the very door they have millions of acres of land admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton, which, though of short staple, is suitable for mixing with other qualities. In the Shanghai River in December, 1893, there were at one time no less than five ocean-going steamers taking in cargoes of China-grown cotton for transportation to Japan, there to be converted by Japanese mills and Japanese hands into yarn and cloth. The Japanese are now importing for their mills cotton direct from America and elsewhere. After this terrible awakening, should China, with her three hundred million of intensely industrious people, open her vast inland provinces by the introduction of railways, her interior waterways to steam traffic and her boundless resources to development, it is impossible to form an estimate of the consequences. It would mean the discovery of practically a new hemisphere, thickly populated with industrious races, and abounding in agricultural, mineral and other resources; but so far from the opening of China, which we may rea-

scnably hope will be one of the results of the present war, being a benefit to English manufacturers, unless some change is made, and that soon, in our monetary standard, the Celestial Empire, which has been the scene of so many of our industrial victories, will only be the field of our greatest defeat."

Mr. Lafcadio Hearn has an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, October, '95. He was for several years a teacher in Japan, and gives some good reasons why Japanese competition will be sharp. Mr. Hearn says, in part:

"In the great industrial competition of the world, fluidity is the secret of Japanese strength. The worker shifts his habitation without a regret to the place where he is most wanted. The factory can be moved at a week's notice, the artisan at half-a-day's. There are no impedimenta to transport, there is practically nothing to build, there is no expense except in coppers to hinder travel.

"The Japanese man of the people—the skilled laborer able to underbid without effort any Western artisan in the same line of industry—remains happily independent of both shoemaker and tailor. His feet are good to look at, his body is healthy and his heart is free. If he desire to travel a thousand miles, he can get ready for his journey in five minutes. His whole outfit need not cost seventy-five cents; and all his baggage can be put into a handkerchief. On ten dollars he can travel a year without work, or he can travel simply on his ability to work, or he can travel as a pilgrim. You may reply that any savage can

do the same thing. Yes, but any civilized man cannot; and the Japanese has been a highly civilized man for at least a thousand years. Hence his present capacity to threaten Western manufacturers."

Commenting on the above, the London Spectator says:

"That is a very noteworthy sketch, and we acknowledge frankly, as we have always acknowledged, that Japanese competition is a very formidable thing, which some day may deeply affect all the conditions of European industrial civilization."

The British Trade Journal for June, '96, prints an account of the industries of Osaka, from a letter of a correspondent of the Adelaide (Australia) Observer. This correspondent, writing directly from Osaka, is so impressed with the variety and vitality of the industries of the city that he calls it "the Manchester of the Far East:"

"Some idea of the magnitude of the manufacturing industry of Osaka will be formed when it is known that there are scores of factories with a capital of over 50,000 yen and under, more than thirty each with a capital of over 100,000 yen, four with more than 1,000,000 yen, and one with 2,000,000 yen. These include silk, wool, cotton, hemp, jute, spinning and weaving, carpets, matches, paper, leather, glass, bricks, cement, cutlery, furniture, umbrellas, tea, sugar, iron, copper, brass, sake, soap, brushes, combs, fancy ware, etc. It is, in fact, a great hive of activity and enterprise, in which the imitative genius and the unflagging pertinacity of the Japanese have set them-

selves to equal, and, if possible, excel, the workers and artisans of the old civilized nations of the West.

"There are ten cotton mills running at Osaka, the combined capital of which is about \$9,000,000 in gold, all fitted up with the latest machinery, and completely lighted by electricity. They are all under Japanese management, and, it is said, all paying handsome dividends—some as much as eighteen per cent on the invested capital. Out of \$19,000,000 worth of cotton imported into Japan in 1894, the mills of Kobe and Osaka took and worked up about seventy-nine per cent."

A silver "yen" is now worth about 50 cents in gold.

The Hon. P. Porter in the *North American Review* has an interesting article. We quote him in part.

The Japanese themselves do not hesitate to boast of their approaching triumph in the "industrial war." Mr. Porter says:

"When in Japan I had the pleasure of meeting, among other statesmen and officials, Mr. Kaneko, Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. I found him a man with intelligence and foresight, and of wide experience in economical and statistical matters. Educated in one of the great European universities, he is up to the spirit of the age in all that relates to Japan and her industrial and commercial future."

Mr. Kaneko recently made a speech to a Chamber of Commerce, in which he said:

"The cotton spinners of Manchester (England) are

known to have said that while the Anglo-Saxons had passed through three generations before they became clever and apt hands for the spinning of cotton, the Japanese have acquired the necessary skill in this industry in ten years' time, and have now advanced to a stage where they surpass the Manchester people in skill."

A dispatch from San Francisco, dated Nov. 9, '96, says:

"M. Oshima, technical director of the proposed steel works in Japan, and four Japanese engineers, arrived on the steamer Rio de Janeiro from Yokohama. They are on a tour of inspection of the great steel works of America and Europe, and are commissioned to buy a plant costing \$2,000,000. They say they will buy just where they can buy the best and cheapest. The plant is to have a capacity of 100,000 tons. It will be built in the coal fields in Southern Japan, and both Martin and Bessemer steel are to be manufactured.

"Mr. Oshima said: 'We want to put our nation where it properly belongs, in the van, as a manufacturing nation. We will need a vast amount of steel and do not want to depend on any other country for it.'"

Further evidence might be produced in abundance to establish the position taken, that when the next panic from over-production comes America will find no outlet. That foreign countries, instead of being markets, have entered the competitive field, and the over-crowded American markets will remain in a state of glut.

The desperate efforts of capitalists to find foreign and

domestic markets will be more desperate than ever, and likewise more futile.

How many people stop to think of the frenzied efforts made to get rid of product. Advertising is considered good business sense, yet in the long run it is a waste and loss to the commonwealth. It only gauges the desperate efforts put forth to get rid of product.

Geo. P. Rowell & Co., the largest advertising firm in the world, stated recently that there were many firms in New York that spent \$1,000,000 a year each for advertising. A billion dollars (\$1,000,000,000) would be a moderate estimate of the amount so spent in the United States each year. And all this is nearly dead loss to society.

Then, to recapitulate. In two ways are we making for the next panic.

First, by wild and reckless speculation—gambling, in fact—in the inflation of stocks and bonds to greatly exaggerated values, and by keeping the volume of money down to the lowest limit. The crash that follows such proceedings sometimes results in the most serious of panics.

Second, over-production, or under-consumption, which is inevitable under a system that only enables the people to buy back from one-seventh to one-fifth of what they produce. This latter way is the more deadly. It is more widespread and general, because the people cannot buy back the vast amount of goods they produce, and the outlet to foreign countries is rapidly being cut off.

PANICS.

inevitable result follows that production must
and, of course, no work, no wages. No wages
no bread, no shelter, none of the necessities of
this condition people will not think or legislate.
revolt.

CHAPTER XX.

FINIS.

**How All the Elements of Destruction Are Being Mixed
Like Deadly Chemicals—How and When the
Revolution Will Be Precipitated.**

A dangerous joke is sometimes played on chemists and apothecaries. A prescription is sent to be compounded, which calls for a number of ingredients that will explode when mixed in certain proportions, and sometimes the chemist thoughtlessly or carelessly falls into the trap. Taken separately, these ingredients may not be dangerous, but to mix, pound and stir them up may develop an irresistible force.

To-day our Republic is in danger. On all sides have arisen dangerous and threatening elements. Their power for evil is increased many fold when taken together. If assailed by one or two evils, it may put down and survive them. This happened when slavery was abolished. It was met and overcome. However, now the Republic is assailed by a score of dangers from all sides. And, like the chemi-

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cals that explode when mixed, these evils taken together will form such an overwhelming and mighty force that the Republic will not be able to stand the strain. I have briefly taken up and discussed each factor that threatens the present social order. Consider each one a chemical element, and imagine the whole drawn into a retort at the same time.

The Trusts, which alone are a deadly menace to the Republic.

The Money Power, fast building up a plutocracy.

A Plutocracy, which promotes fraudulent elections; which controls legislation, and is beginning to Rule by the Injunction.

An Aristocracy, very similar to that which played such an important part in the downfall of the Roman Empire, and which was the cause of the French revolution.

The new factors of Machinery and Trade Unions.

The Fearful Corruption, in City, State and National government; where bribery and perjury flourish, showing how public morals are being contaminated.

Legislation for the Rich; Child and Female labor, and Poverty for the masses.

Landlords and landless farmers.

The vast army of the Unemployed, which in time of panic will become a seething, tumultuous mass.

All of these evils exist, and more too. Many threatening evils have not been touched.

We might say all of these deadly factors are placed in the National mortar, ready to be touched off.

THE AMERICAN CIRCUS.

W. R. Andrews, of Grand Rapids, Mich., at a recent toast, got off the following appeal to the Filipinos:

"You Filipinos don't know what you are missing by not wanting to become citizens of this grand country of ours. There isn't anything like it under the sun. You ought to send a delegation over to see us—the land of the free—land of fine churches and 40,060 licensed saloons; Bibles, forts and guns, houses of prostitution, millionaires and paupers; theologians and thieves; liberalists and liars; politicians and poverty; Christians and chain gangs; schools and scalawags; trusts and tramps; money and misery; homes and hunger; virtue and vice; a land where you can get a good Bible for fifteen cents or a bad drink of whiskey for five cents; where we have a man in Congress with three wives and a lot in the penitentiary for having two wives; where some men make sausage out of their wives and some want to eat them raw; where we make bologna out of dogs, canned beef out of horses and sick cows, and corpses out of the people who eat it; where we put a man in jail for not having the means of support and on the rock pile for asking for a job of work; where we license bawdy houses and fine men for preaching Christ on the street corners; where we have a Congress of 400 men to make laws and a supreme court of nine men to set them aside; where good whiskey makes bad men and bad men

make good whiskey; where newspapers are paid for suppressing the truth and made rich for teaching a lie; where professors draw their convictions from the same place they do their salaries; where preachers are paid \$25,000 a year to dodge the devil and tickle the ears of the wealthy; where business consists of getting hold of property in any way that won't land you in the penitentiary; where trusts 'hold up' and poverty 'holds down;' where men vote for what they do not want, for fear they won't get what they do want by voting for it; where 'niggers' can vote and women can't; where a girl who goes wrong is made an outcast and her male partner flourishes as a gentleman; where women wear false hair and men 'dock' their horses' tails; where the political wire-puller has displaced the patriotic statesman; where men vote for a thing one day and 'cuss' it 364 days; where we have prayers on the floor of our National Capitol and whiskey in the cellar; where we spend \$500 to bury a statesman who is rich and \$10 to put away a working man who is poor; where to be virtuous is to be lonesome and to be honest is to be a crank; where we sit on the safety valve of energy and pull wide open the throttle of conscience; where gold is substance—the one thing sought for; where we pay \$15,000 for a dog and fifteen cents a dozen to a poor woman for making shirts; where we teach the 'untutored' Indian eternal life from the Bible and kill him off with bad whiskey; where we put a man in jail for stealing a loaf of bread and in Congress for stealing a railroad; where the check book talks,

sin walks in broad day light, justice is asleep, crime runs amuck, corruption permeates our whole social and political fabric, and the devil laughs from every street corner. Come to us, Fillies! We've got the greatest aggregation of good things and bad things, hot things and cold things, all sizes, varieties and colors, ever exhibited under one tent."

A horrible indictment, yet who can say it is overdrawn?

The Appeal to Reason says:

"The Governor of New Jersey, the state that issues permits for corporations to do anything they like, has just signed a bill that was passed by the corporations' representatives giving the courts power to imprison a man for any speech or writing which the court may not like. The constitution don't stand in the way of liberty of speech or press in New Jersey, and both will become a thing of the past in a few years. The corporations are in the saddle, and the working people are being ridden."

Daniel Webster said: "The freest government cannot long endure when the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of a few, and render the masses of the people poor and dependent." The very thing Webster warned us against has been strictly carried out until we now have on the one hand more than 4,000 millionaires and on the other thousands who are losing or have already lost their homes, and other thousands who are actually destitute.

Up to date it is estimated that there are about 4,000 trusts in the United States.

Col. Robert Ingersoll in *The Twentieth Century* said:

"It is impossible for a man with a good heart to be satisfied with the world as it now is. No man can truly enjoy even what he earns—what he knows to be his own—knowing that millions of his fellow-men are in misery and want. When we think of the famished, we feel that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as though his heart were as cold as their bodies.

"Is there to be no change? Are the 'laws of supply and demand,' invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation, always to be the enemies of those who toil? Will the workers always be ignorant enough and stupid enough to give their earnings for the useless? Will they support millions of soldiers to kill the sons of other workingmen? Will they always build temples and live in dens and huts themselves? Will they forever allow parasites and vampires to live upon their blood? Will they remain the slaves of the beggars they support? Will honest men stop taking off their hats to successful fraud? Will industry, in the presence of crowned idleness, forever fall upon its knees? Will they understand that beggars cannot be generous, and that every healthy man must earn the right to live? Will they finally say that the man who has had equal privileges with all others has no right to complain, or will they follow the example set by

their oppressors? Will they learn that force, to succeed, must have thought behind it, and that anything done in order that it may endure must rest upon the cornerstone of justice?"

A member of the Supreme Court once made this statement; it is part of an address made to the Alumni of the Law Department of Yale College. Speaking of Labor and Capital, Judge Brown said:

"The conflict between them has been going on and increasing in bitterness for thousands of years, and a settlement seems further off than ever. Compulsory arbitration is a misnomer—a contradiction in terms. One might as well speak of an amicable murder or a friendly war. It is possible that a compromise may finally be effected upon the basis of co-operation or profit-sharing, under which every laborer shall become, to a certain extent, a capitalist. Perhaps, with superior education, wider experience and larger intelligence, the laboring man of the twentieth century may attain the summit of his ambition in his ability to command the entire profits of his toil."

Another writer says:

"Demagogues, partisan orators and editors may use sophistry ever so thick, but they cannot cover up this fact: The laboring masses cannot live like American citizens ought to live, and educate their children, when they receive but 17 per cent of what they actually produce."

Wendell Phillips expressed his opinion as follows:

"No reform, moral or intellectual, ever came from the

upper class of society. Each and all came from the protest of the martyr and victim. The emancipation of the working people must be achieved by the working people themselves."

These are the words of Patrick Henry:

"Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation or community. Of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration. And whenever any government shall be found inadequate, or contrary to these purposes, a MAJORITY OF THE COMMUNITY HATH AN INALIENABLE, AND INDEFEASIBLE RIGHT TO REFORM, ALTER OR ABOLISH IT IN SUCH MANNER AS SHALL BE JUDGED MOST CONDUCTIVE TO THE PUBLIC WEAL."

Proof and argument might be extended without end, to show the condition we are in, and the worse condition toward which we are tending. But it would be superfluous. At this time the people, fully alive to the situation, need no argument or evidence to convince them of the straits we have reached. The present social order is reared over a mine that is liable to explode at any time. Things are growing worse from day to day. And there seems to be no organized or intelligent effort made to remedy or to alleviate the coming storm. The question is not discussed or mentioned at the schools and colleges.

In fact, as has been shown, the subject is studiously avoided. The church seems to think that the proper attitude is that of silence or neutrality. Indeed, many churches openly side with Plutoeracy.

Will education suddenly be directed to this subject, and a happy escape discovered? Will the church suddenly lay hold of the question and point out the wrongs and take the part of the oppressed? Will the people suddenly know how to think and legislate clearly and in some way bring harmony out of all this chaos? Never! The history of sociology proves that great evils are never prevented. Though the remedy were the simplest, the people always permit calamity to swoop down upon them, causing wreck and ruin instead of taking measures of prevention in time. 'Tis true, society always rebuilds and recuperates, but it never prevents.

The following is part of an interview with Senator Vest in the St. Louis Republic, October 15, 1902:

"All the facts now so well and so freely commented upon by the people of the United States have been before them for years. Every intelligent man has known that the railroads and collieries were under the same control. This has been the case in regard to the meat product, which has been absolutely in the hands of the Chicago packers since 1883. The trouble is that until the matter comes personally to each citizen there is general indifference on the sub-

ject, and the cry of 'let well enough alone' allays the apprehensions of everybody.

* * * * *

"I spent the whole summer of 1891 investigating the meat trust at Chicago, and made a report of more than 600 pages, giving the unquestionable proof that the trust existed, and that it controlled the price paid for beef cattle and the price paid by the consumer for meat. The committee of which I was chairman reported five bills, and but one of them passed the Senate. It was never even considered by the House. The other four bills died in the Senate, as the trust was strong enough to prevent their consideration.

* * * * *

"The statesman who can originate some legislation which will compromise justly the present antagonism between labor and capital will live in history as the greatest benefactor of our country."

I take the position that things are ripe for a revolution, and that nothing short of divine power can prevent it. Evidence from every source goes to prove that the ground is well taken.

What then will precipitate it? What will be the last straw?

The first real panic!!

The spark that will touch off the powder magazine will be a panic!!

If, then, everything is ripe for a revolution, and the

revolution will be precipitated by a panic, we can determine the date of the revolution by ascertaining the date of this panic.

I propose to fix the time when the next panic will break upon us!

Some have argued that panics recur at regular intervals of either ten, twelve or fifteen years. This is foolish. Time is not the important element and cuts but little figure. All of the panics of the past have come at irregular intervals. My deductions have not been made after this fashion.

But there are two unfailing factors that determine the advent of the panic. I have pointed out these two agents clearly. The one is over-production or under-consumption. As shown, when this conditions prevails a panic is inevitable.

The other is the breaking of speculative and inflated values of stocks and bonds. When the stock market becomes abnormally weak, when speculators are caught and money becomes scarce, a financial panic results. If it is severe, business is dull and listless; nobody wishes to buy the product on the market, and over-production is at hand, which is shortly followed by an industrial panic. But the question will be asked: "Who can predict when the market will be glutted and when crashing speculative values will precipitate a financial panic?"

In answer to this I say that both these conditions are about FULFILLED NOW. First, we will consider the financial market and Wall Street at present.

That there has been a great scare this fall none will deny. It is true the papers tried to allay the fears of the public and also suppressed most of the news. Nevertheless it is well known that strenuous efforts were made to bolster up the market and ward off a financial crash.

Russell Sage, the veteran financier, early in the summer announced his opinion that money was going to become panicky. His prediction came true in the fall. In the meantime he had been selling his holdings at enormous profits. The St. Louis Republic printed the following:

**"RUSSELL SAGE WARNS AGAINST MORGAN'S
PLANS.**

**"Ultimately, He Says, They Will Result in Terrible Panic
and People Will No Longer Tolerate Them.**

"DANGER IS NOT IMAGINARY.

"Republic Special.

"New York, Aug. 21.—Russell Sage, perhaps the greatest individual capitalist in the country, his wealth being estimated at \$100,000,000, in a statement to-day takes direct issue with J. Pierpont Morgan regarding gigantic combinations and the consolidation of great industries.

"To Mr. G. A. Parkin, a fellow-passenger on the Oceanic, Mr. Morgan said during his trip from Europe that the era of combination has just begun, and that he has

other vaster schemes which are to dwarf the billion-dollar Street Trust and the shipping combine.

"It is this announcement by Mr. Morgan that leads Russell Sage to sound a note of warning. The veteran financier declares that such giant combinations are a menace; that they will inevitably result in one of the greatest financial panics this country has ever experienced, and that ultimately the American people will no longer tolerate them.

"'Combinations of all great industries are a menace to the government,' declares Mr. Sage. 'Such combinations are not only a menace, but are the oppressors of the people.

"FINANCIAL RUIN SUCH AS WAS NEVER
DREAMED OF.

"Should an era of combinations ensue, the American people will certainly revolt against them and, if they do, there will be financial ruin such as people have never dreamed of in the history of the world.

"The American people will most certainly revolt at no very distant time against the enormous combinations of the various industries. If continued, the combinations will some day result in financial ruin, not only to those interested, but to the country.

"The success attending the combination of some industries has led to the belief that the same success will mark the organization of other great combinations. This

will not prove true, and before many years every one will realize it.'

"Mr. Parkin, who is president of the Toronto University, was astonished by the vastness of Mr. Morgan's economic plans, as revealed by him on the trip. He said:

" 'Mr. Morgan's word picture of the ideal industrial development is so vast that I confess I could not adequately comprehend it. Combination is the keynote of his idea. He declares that the idea of combination will progress, growing wilder and greater all the time. The Steamship Trust he used as an illustration, saying the present plan was only the beginning of an ultimately vast combination of shipping interests. His idea is so great that it completely enthralled me, and I asked permission to visit him at his office and hear him more fully develop his idea for me.' "

Russell Sage expresses his opinion in another magazine.

The first contributor to a notable symposium in the May North American Review on Industrial and Railroad Consolidations is Russell Sage. Mr. Sage illustrated one feature of industrial combination by taking an imaginary factory worth, say, \$50,000. This factory falls into the hands of consolidators, who issue \$150,000 of stock against it, and ask banks to loan \$60,000 or \$70,000 on the property that would not in the hands of the original owner be considered good security for more than \$10,000. "Under these circumstances, a 'squeeze' seems to be inevitable.

The clearing house is reporting, from week to week, an expansion of loans far beyond anything that was dreamed of heretofore. THIS CAN NOT GO ON FOREVER; yet, from all appearances, the era of consolidation has only set in. A REACTION MUST COME as soon as the banks realize the situation. A property is not worth \$50,000 one day and \$150,000 the next simply because a company of men, no matter how big and important they are, say so." —Public Opinion.

Now then, if all the conditions necessary for a money panic prevail, why does it not break upon the country at once?

Because Pierpont Morgan, Rockefeller, Mr. Shaw, Wall Street and the Republican Party desire most earnestly to avoid it if possible. They do all in their power to suppress the pent-up volcano. And they have succeeded temporarily. Commenting on this, Appeal to Reason says:

"The banks run short of money recently and the banker who heads the United States treasury rushes to their assistance with the people's money and loans to them without interest, millions. When the people, to whom this belongs, need money, do they get it from their dear, sweet government? Not on your penny. They can go to the banks and borrow their own money and pay well for it. But the bankers understand the art of voting for their interest, while the masses have no such understanding. When the rich need help they get it; when the poor need help they get it—in the neck. What an odd arrangement.

And the people go blundering along and never see a thing."

Now, the question comes, "How long can the money barons stave off a financial panic?"

Not forever! Because the inflation keeps right on. Stocks are watered and paper and artificial values issued against enterprises more and more every day.

But they will prevent a financial panic taking place before the presidential election of 1904.

If they did not their party would be defeated. It is necessary for them to keep down the panic until then. They must, and will, have their party placed in power in 1904.

After the election they will not be able to stave off the evil day for more than one year, no matter how hard they try and in spite of everything they resort to. The year 1905 will thus be bolstered up and made artificially prosperous.

The year 1906 will bring the greatest financial panic the country has witnessed. It will be worse than that of 1893.

By this time there will be over-production. The evils of over-production have been fully discussed, and the little hope there was of escaping it. It becomes plainly apparent, then, for these two reasons alone that a panic at this time will be intensely severe. Great over-production and highly inflated values which have been kept that way and bolstered artificially will be too much even for the money barons and all Wall Street.





But, on the other hand, suppose the Democratic Party should win the election of 1904.

As the same causes for a panic would prevail, no matter who won, a panic would be inevitable in such a case also. And further, as the trust barons and monopolists would be afraid of tariff tinkering, Wall Street would begin to draw in all of the money it possibly could. They would be scared and uncertain; the withdrawal of the small amount of currency that we have from the channels of business would only hasten the crisis. In fact, it is well known that the volume of currency is far below necessary requirements, and that at the slightest scare it is withdrawn by the money lenders from legitimate enterprises. Fifty capitalists in Wall Street could precipitate a panic at any time.

So, should the Democratic Party win in 1904, with ever so good a man as President, and ever so good a platform, we will have a panic in 1905 and the Revolution in 1906. But the Democratic Party will never win! Plutocracy will see that the Republican Party does, and after it is in power will do everything it can to bolster it up.

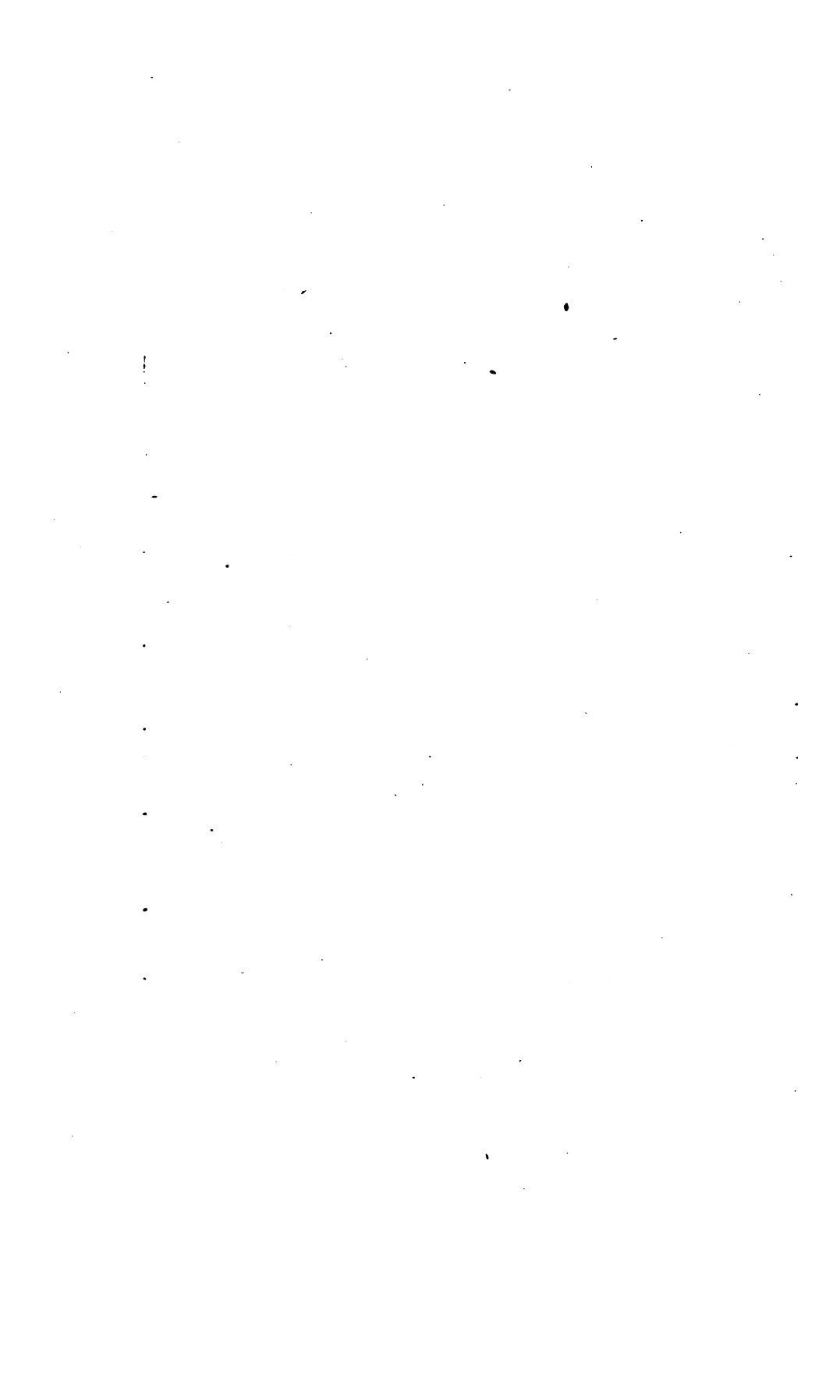
The panic of 1906 is all that is needed to cause the explosion. The explosive has been prepared. Dumped into the national mortar are mortgaged farmers, and the unemployed. Heaped upon them are pauperism and child labor. Added to their misery are strikes, lockouts, the injunction, machinery, panics, corruption, bribery, class legislation. This mass of misery is aggravated by the strong

arm or oppression; the militia, Pinkerton detectives, federal troops and plutocracy.

I repeat that it only requires a strong agency like a panic to bring a revolution that will be terrible in its effect.

Strikes of great magnitude will precede the cataclysm. Two classes will oppose each other. On one side the striking working classes, supported by the vast farming population, and a murmuring, discontented poor, unemployed, wretched and desperate; and on the other side, an arrogant rich, backed by a corrupt government, the army, militia and police. The former will have the advantage of numbers, but the latter will have on its side the wealth, law and army of the land.

Then the foolish attempt to settle an economic problem by force will once more be made. Reason, by which alone it might be settled, will be set aside. When we look back at the Civil War, the stupidity of resorting to force instead of reason to settle a question is plain enough. All of those lives, all of the misery and pain, to say nothing of the vast treasure, might have been saved had the country resorted to reason. But they didn't, and won't in the impending revolution. As has been said before, sociology teaches that no great social cataclysm is ever prevented by the people coming together and reasoning. Perhaps in the dim future such may happen. To-day we only think together when mending and curing, and after it is too late. Then we unite and patch up.



An Industrial Panic.



Great and numerous riots will follow the many strikes, and force will be used to keep them down. Bread riots have been common in the past, but meat riots are something new. Many people were killed in New York recently in these latter. It shows how easily the people will resort to violence when goaded on to it. It also affords a forecast of what will happen when the great panic and revolution comes. The granaries and storehouses will be filled to bursting with grain, cereals and food. The warehouses will be filled with dry goods, clothing and all kinds of supplies. But millions will be hungry, ragged and wretched. In this condition, in the midst of plenty, they will not quietly, meekly and submissively reflect, but will riot at once. The absurdity of the situation will only goad them to frenzy. They will see one thing. We have raised and produced too much food, and millions of us are hungry. We have produced too much clothing, and the majority of us are ragged. We have built too many houses, so countless throngs of us are crowded into tenement houses like cattle, while others are homeless. Over-production, over-production, over-production of everything. Too much, and yet we go without. Frenzy, madness and rioting will be their answer—bloodshed their only satisfaction.

The hungry, the wretched, the unemployed; the strikers, paupers and fanatics will be the most aggressive and will bear the brunt of the battle.

The other side, having a trained army and the latest de-

vices of warfare, will clash with them, and once more the free soil of America will flow with precious blood.

Let none, then, be deceived by two or three years of prosperity between now and 1906. Plutocracy must by all means prevent a money panic between now and election time. They may possibly extend it a year beyond that time. While they may do this much, they cannot by any means ward off an over-production panic! That is an ill that goes through the whole social system, from top to bottom.

The evidence of an over-production panic does not appear as plainly just yet as do the financial disturbances.

But this is coming and cannot be avoided, as has been clearly shown. Because, simply, the consumers are not paid enough to buy back the product and the foreign markets are about gone, leaving no outlet for the over-production.

No human power can prevent an over-production panic!

To give an idea of what the revolution will be like we quote various able articles and the views of some of the world's best thinkers on the subject. Prof. Fisher, of Yale College, in his *Universal History*, page 497, says:

"First among the causes of the revolution in France was the hostility felt toward the privileged classes—the king, the nobles and the clergy—on account of the disabilities and burdens which law and custom imposed on the classes beneath them.

"The Land.—Nearly two-thirds of the land in France

was in the hands of the nobles and of the clergy. A great part of it was illy cultivated by its indolent owners. The nobles preferred the gayeties of Paris to a residence on their estates. There were many small land-owners, but they had individually too little land to furnish them with subsistence. The treatment of the peasant was often such that when he looked upon the towers of his lord's castle, the dearest wish of his heart was to burn it down with all its registers of debts (mortgages). The clergy held an immense amount of land, seigniorial control over thousands of peasants, and a vast income from tithes and other sources. In some provinces there was a better state of things than in others; but in general, the rich had the enjoyments, the poor carried the burdens.

"Monopolies.—Manufacturers and trades, although encouraged, were fettered by oppressive monopolies and a strict organization of guilds.

"Corrupt Government.—The administration of government was both arbitrary and corrupt.

"Loss of Respect for Royalty.—Respect for the throne was lost.

"Abortive Essays at Reform.—The efforts at political and social reform in France and other countries, emanating from sovereigns after the great wars, produced a restless feeling without affecting their purpose of social reorganization.

"Political Speculation.—The current of thought was in a revolutionary direction. Traditional beliefs in religion
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were boldly questioned. Political speculation was rife. Montesquieu had drawn attention to the liberty secured by the English constitution. Voltaire had dwelt on human rights. Rosseau had expatiated on the sovereign right of the majority.

"Example of America.—Add to these agencies the influence of the American Revolution, and of the American Declaration of Independence, with its proclamation of human rights, and of the foundation of government in contract and the consent of the people."

In all those leading causes which culminated in the terrors of the French Revolution we see a strong resemblance to similar condition to-day which are rapidly and surely leading to the foretold similar results.

A thoughtful writer recently said:

"In France before the great revolution the condition of the peasants was, in most districts, miserable in the extreme. Exactions of all sorts which went to feed the luxury of the court at Versailles left them with barely the means to sustain existence. They were impoverished to the level of brutes, and were not even well fed and well housed animals. Writing under these conditions a great French statesman denounced the economic system which took from a thousand men the necessaries of true human life to feed the immoral extravagance of one courtier. A thousand men, he said, were debased by poverty in order that one man might be corrupted by wealth too great for his virtue. This description of the condition of the peo-

ple of France yesterday may be accepted as a fair portraiture of the condition of the people in many nations to-day. Will history repeat itself, or will a higher civilization influence a peaceful, rather than a bloody revolution?"

One of Charles Dickens' stories, the scene of which is laid in the troublous times of the French Revolution, begins thus, and aptly fits the present time, as he suggests:

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times; it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness; it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity; it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness; it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair; we had everything before us, we had nothing before us; we were all going direct to heaven, we were all going direct the other way;—in short, the period was so far like the present period that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."

MACAULAY'S PREDICTION.

The Paris Figaro quotes the following extracts of a letter written in 1857 by Mr. Macaulay, the great English historian, to a friend in the United States:

"It is clear as daylight that your government will never be able to hold under control a suffering and angry majority, because in your country the government is in the hands of the masses, and the rich, who are in the minority, are absolutely at their mercy. A day will come in the

state of New York when the multitude, between half a breakfast and the hope of half a dinner, will elect your legislators. Is it possible to have any doubt as to the kind of legislators that will be elected?

"You will be obliged to do those things which render prosperity impossible. Then some Caesar or Napoleon will take the reins of government in hand. Your Republic will be pillaged and ravaged in the twentieth century, just as the Roman Empire was by the barbarians of the fifth century, with this difference, that the devastators of the Roman Empire, the Huns and Vandals, came from abroad, while your barbarians will be the natives of your own country, and the product of your own institutions."

In 1858 the same great historian said:

"The time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as old England. Wages will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and your Birminghams, and in those cities thousands of artisans will sometimes be out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. * * * It is quite evident that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For in a republic the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are a small minority, absolutely at its mercy."

More recent, and more pointed, are the almost prophetic words of our martyr president, Abraham Lincoln, written shortly before his assassination, to a friend in Illinois. He wrote:

"Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing its close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of the flower of American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has been a trying hour indeed for the Republic. But I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money-power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war."

To us at this late day these words show a marvelous foresight. But a few more years are required to make them immortal.

"No structure of government," said Lincoln, "can endure unless founded upon justice. There must be one law for all, and equality under that law. The slave power must not be resurrected in a more oppressive and tyrannizing money power."

Words of wonderful truth that are coming home to us. But they will be of no service to us as a warning. We merely marvel at them, and praise their wisdom, but do nothing further. We are not guided by them in the least. A people never prevent, they only repair social and

economic evils. After the diaster we will carve statues of Lincoln and engrave plates with his prophetic words and call him a great prophet. "What fools these mortals be!" Why not heed the words now, while it is time? An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

Representative Hatch of Missouri, in a speech before Congress on financial and social matters, is reported in the public press to have said:

"Mark what I say! If the inexorable law of cause and effect has not been expunged from the statute book of the Almighty, unless a halt is called very soon, you may expect to see the horrors of the French Revolution put on the American stage with all the modern improvements, and that within the next decade. Nor am I alone. That gentleman, Astor, who went to England some time ago, bought him a place on the island and became a British subject, saw what is coming as plainly as I do, so he took time by the forelock and skipped out when there was not such a rush for staterooms as there will be after a while. He knew very well that if things would keep on as you and I have seen them for some time past, the time was not far off when there would be such a crowd of his class of people hurrying aboard every outgoing steamer he might be shoved off the gangplank."

Here is an extract from a speech delivered by Senator Ingalls in the United States Senate:

"We cannot disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revolution. Old issues are dead. The

people are arraying themselves on one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side is capital, formidably intrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious of old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own gold standard. On the other side is labor asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature and subduing the wilderness. Labor, starving and sullen in the cities, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer—a system which gives to a Vanderbilt and a Gould wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and condemns the poor to poverty from which there is no escape or refuge but the grave. Demands for justice have been met with indifference and disdain. The laborers of the country, asking for employment, are treated like impudent mendicants begging for bread.”

Let us not lull ourselves to sleep in fancied security, or, like the ostrich of the deserts, hide our head in the sand, thinking that because we refuse to see the facts, there is no danger. How unwise and foolish!

Why not admit there is danger, and face it like men? Why not meet it with all the wisdom, science and Christianity we possess? Why be taken unawares?

What, then, should be the attitude of the true American citizen?

First of all, recognition of the fact that social and industrial evolution is taking place, according to certain immutable laws.

Then, a careful and ardent study, in a scientific way, of this evolution. Let the investigation be thoughtful, calm, unbiased and unprejudiced, avoiding hatred and passion, and cultivating instead a true philosophical spirit.

Do not blame individuals. Remember that the best and worst of us are generally the result of our environments. All of us to-day are the product of present conditions.

It is safe to say that 90 per cent of the people to-day are entirely ignorant of the science of social, industrial and political economy. Our danger lies in this ignorance. It must be dispelled or confusion and inefficiency will continue to hold sway. If the people are to rule they must do so understandingly. The evolution must be guided by honest and skillful hands. A tumultuous mass will spoil and upset everything.

The extent of the cataclysm may be determined by the ignorance of the people. The danger will be diminished as our knowledge along economic lines increases.

Let us use the ballot intelligently, insisting that the measures we vote for meet the live questions of the day. Let us not be afraid to cast aside those that are old and dead and have no possible bearing on the issues we must face now.

Let us not be blindly partisan, voting as we are told, or voting as our ancestors did before us.

Let us not think of the government as a far-away, abstract power; but let us remember that the People are the Government and the Government the People. The two are identical.

Popular government is to be put to an awful test. It is the duty of each individual, regardless of what anyone else may do, to use his intellect, and in the trying hour show to the world that the American people are the most enlightened, progressive and God-fearing people the world has ever known.

[The End.]



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